

THE SOCIAL STUDIES



A PERIODICAL
FOR TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS

VOLUME LI, NUMBER 6

NOVEMBER, 1960

"So I said to
the principal . . .

"Give me the class of slow-learners . . . With the help of *The Growth of America*, I shall teach them about our nation, how it grew, and continues to grow . . . And," I declared with arms waving, and eyes gleaming, "I shall make them see and understand how wonderful it is to be living inside of Liberty's 'golden door'!"

The principal didn't say much. "All right," he said after a pause, "try it."

Months have passed. My slow-learners have become eager learners. Now whenever I talk about my class and *The Growth of America*—heavens-to-betsy!—it is *he* who gesticulates. And I just smile and pat the book.

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As the Editor Sees It

The traditional pattern of American elementary and secondary education calls for a 12-year sequence, of about 180 days a year. This is the standard offering, and any pupil who does not complete it is termed a "drop-out," and is regarded in a sense as a black mark against the reputation of the local school system. On the other hand, if the school curriculum fails to challenge sufficiently the more gifted pupils, so that they complete the 12-year sequence without much effort and without the attainments which a more rigorous course could have provided, the school system is attacked as being too soft. This is the dilemma of post-war education in America.

The problem of the drop-out was the first to receive general concern and attention. Great quantities of educational material appeared from all directions, urging curriculum revisions to meet the needs "of *all* American youth." Hundreds of new courses appeared, appealing to the current interests and practical needs of youth. They included "life adjustment" courses, modified versions of traditional subjects, vocational training, and in fact almost anything that offered a promise of keeping pupils from leaving school. To what extent they succeeded it is impossible to say, for there are more factors that influence school leaving than the nature of the curriculum. But the effort to tailor school offerings to pupil interests reached such a point that many people complained it was destroying the meaning of education. To them it seemed that mere attendance at school, rather than worth-while learning, was being made the important goal. The critics demanded a "return" to "basic education," to a curriculum that "stretched the mind." As the Cold War intensified, this demand grew more strident. The school found itself pulled nearly asunder between the opposite forces. How could these apparently diverse objectives be met within the traditional time pattern? It was a problem that sorely vexed most administrators.

Gradually a three-point answer has begun to emerge which may provide the best and most practicable solution to the dilemma. First, some of the more useless life adjustment offerings are being eliminated, and it is becoming recognized that not all drop-outs are necessarily the failure of the school. The artificial standard of twelve years of formal schooling to age 17 simply may not fit every child. Some will do better to drop out earlier and return to night extension courses as young adults when they themselves have discovered their real and specialized needs. Most of them would have spurned the same courses at age 16.

Secondly, many schools are upgrading their course requirements for able students and, through more careful guidance, are insuring that they do not have to waste their time on the courses which were originally intended for potential drop-outs. Through such means, less "coasting" can be expected in the regular academic curriculum.

The third trend is toward the offering of advanced or enrichment courses, with or without school credit, to those superior pupils who are really interested in learning more during their twelve-year period than is required in regular classes. Many schools are now making such enrichment courses available, either as extra load in the school day, or special classes on Saturdays or in the summer. We believe this is a trend of real importance. It breaks through the traditional time and load barrier, and gives opportunities not previously available to interested students. At the same time it poses no new obstacles to the average or poorer student which would discourage their normal progress through school.

It seems to us that these three developments represent a realistic and very promising approach toward the goal of giving each child what he really needs and can benefit from. The rigid 12-year pattern of 39 weeks which must be fitted to every child is no longer a sacred thing.

Is European Union in the Making?

E. W. THORNTON

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On the last day of 1958 an Associated Press story from Paris began with these words: "Six western European nations somewhat gingerly dip their toes into the open waters of free trade on January 1." Without fanfare but with this formal announcement the Common Market got under way. The treaty had been in effect a full year when, on January 1, 1959, the six member nations actually lowered tariffs among themselves by ten per cent and increased import quotas by twenty per cent. They also established a common external tariff and activated numerous other arrangements of the treaty. The official title of the organization is the European Economic Community (EEC), and it includes Belgium, The Netherlands, Luxembourg, West Germany, France, and Italy.

With the Common Market another program, Euratom, also went into effect. Similar to the Common Market, but relating to a specialized field, the "community" (European Atomic Energy Community) was given a separate organization. It represents a vital new power which Europe greatly needs.

Included in this European *Zollverein* is yet a third project, which was actually the first, for it has been a going concern for seven years. The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), commonly known as the Schuman Plan, served as a pilot plan and pattern of development for the others. Since 1953 there has existed a free market among the six countries for the two vital industries of coal and steel. These three programs—the Schuman Plan, the Common Market, and Euratom—constitute the active segment, aside from the military alliances, of a broad movement toward greater European unity.

The Schuman Plan grew out of the immediate problems of the post-war years. The

peoples of Europe in 1945 faced the question of whether they were to return to the pre-war days of competition and rivalry which had produced the Second World War, or take the untried path of genuine cooperation. The French had tried without success to exploit the Ruhr Valley in 1923; reparations from Germany had failed dismally by 1930, and bitter rivalry became the pattern for European relations. Now after another disastrous war, with Upper Silesia in the hands of the Soviets, and with Britain unable to supply the continent with coal as in times past, the Ruhr was desperately needed for European recovery. Other problems of like nature were pressing.

Then came the Marshall Plan, requiring a certain degree of integration of Europe's economic life. Experience with the administration of the Marshall Plan led to bolder efforts. Such men as Jean Monnet, the "Father of the Schuman Plan," together with Robert Schuman, Paul Henri Spaak, Konrad Adenaur, and others, envisioned an effective federation of Europe. But being also practical men they eventually set their sights on more immediately attainable objectives. As a result of their efforts a treaty was signed in 1952 by the six governments named above creating the European Coal and Steel Community.

Virtually all frontier barriers on trade in these two industries have now been eliminated, including not only the obvious tariff duties but also many hidden restrictions such as discriminating freight rates and subsidies. Trade in coal and steel within the Community has increased ninety-three per cent as compared with fifty-nine per cent for other products. In the area of transportation, for instance, Ruhr coal today, instead of

being shipped on the long haul to South Germany, moves across the border to Holland, while South Germany receives its coal from the Saar mines (under French control following the war). Belgium's coal, in turn moves freely to the near-by industrial area of northern France.

The plan had its critics. The cartels, declared illegal by the treaty, opposed it vigorously. Germans denounced it as a plot by France to get the Ruhr coal; French industrialists felt that it played into German hands. In some quarters it was even labeled Communistic, although the Communists in all six countries were the bitterest opponents of the plan. The significant fact is that it was approved by all six parliaments after full airing and discussion.

The administrative side of the ECSC is significant. In effect, the six governments have delegated a portion of their sovereignty to a federal agency which is largely independent in the area affected. Thus there exists a supra-national body which controls the economic life of the Community with respect to the coal and steel industries. This body—the administrative machinery of the ECSC—is organized strictly along governmental lines with an executive branch, a legislative Assembly, and a Court of Justice. The executive branch is composed of a commission of nine members selected by the governments and known as the High Authority, and with it two advisory groups. On one side is a Council of Ministers, six in number, who serve as a direct link with the member states. On the other side is a Consultative Committee representing business, labor, and consumer groups.

The High Authority "governs" in cooperation with a parliamentary Assembly of 142 members, appointed by the six national parliaments according to a plan of proportional representation. Voting in the Assembly at first followed essentially national lines but in recent years this has not been the case. While the Assembly lacks the power to interfere with the general management of affairs by the High Authority, it does have the right to question the members, and by a two-thirds

vote to censure the High Authority, compelling its members to resign. Thus the European principle of responsible government is embedded in this embryo parliament of Europe.

At the same time an American principle, that of Judicial Review, appears in the Court of Justice, which has the power to nullify the decisions of the Assembly and the High Authority. However, the main function of this court of seven justices is to hear and judge complaints from member states and from individual enterprises.

The authority of this supra-national organization is obviously restricted to a small but vital area of economic life in the six countries. But in that limited framework Europeans have been learning important lessons in the cooperative effort. Perhaps the most important fact about the Coal and Steel Community is that the plan has apparently worked successfully. It is accepted by the business community and supported by the participating governments.

The Common Market came into being only after serious set-backs and disappointments. The success of the Schuman Plan in the early fifties served to give an impetus to the broader supra-nationalist movement. Hope was quickened for the more immediate realization of the dream of a United States of Europe. As part of this more ambitious effort and under the stimulus of the Korean War, the movement was joined to the military program through the European Defense Community (EDC). This would have created a truly integrated army and a common military budget among the Schuman Plan group and Great Britain. Although it was originally proposed by the French, when they came to look at it squarely they backed away. The defeat of EDC in the French Parliament in 1954 was a terrific blow to the whole movement for unity in Europe. It acted as a bomb-shell which back-fired. Hope for political union collapsed; nothing was left but the Coal and Steel Community, which remained active mainly because it had already been started. As a result of these set-backs there followed a return to the program of gradu-

alism. The leaders of the Schuman Plan, undaunted, pushed ahead for economic union. In March, 1957, the Treaty of Rome was signed creating the Common Market and Euratom.

What was achieved in several years by the Coal and Steel Community is now being attempted on a much broader scale by the Common Market. The transition period will cover from twelve to fifteen years. A timetable has been set up for the gradual elimination of trade barriers during that time. During the first four to six years tariff duties are to be reduced thirty per cent, in the next four years another thirty per cent, and in the last four to five years the remaining forty per cent reduction will take place. If the program works as scheduled, within the next fifteen years goods will flow as freely from Naples to Amsterdam as they do from Boston to St. Louis. A free market will exist in a community of 160 million people, approximately the same as the population of the United States. One is reminded of the customs union which was created by the Philadelphia Convention in 1787 and which was steadily expanded to cover half a continent. Without this free market American business could not have developed to its present proportions. Neither, for that matter, would our political history have any resemblance to the record as it has actually taken place.

Obviously the Common Market is the most ambitious effort in European cooperation that has yet been tried. Beside the gradual elimination of import duties, the practice of quota fixing, which in recent times has become a formidable trade barrier, will also be terminated within the Community. Of equal significance is an external tariff for the six-nation group. This is a matter of concern for other countries, who fear that a strong tariff wall may emerge as the Common Market unit advances its own interests in a competitive world.

The treaty also calls for uniform railroad rates and trucking regulations. It provides for freedom of movement for capital and labor, making money payments and investment easier, and permitting workers, under

certain conditions, to migrate within the Community. Certain social benefits which French workers enjoy will be extended to the other five countries in order to equalize the competitive position of French industry with respect to that of other member states. These benefits have to do with overtime pay, paid holiday schemes, and equal pay for men and women. The Common Market thus becomes the means of extending to all six countries the benefits of the hard-won victories of the French workers.

Presumably the Common Market has done away with cartels. But Europe has never developed the anti-monopoly controls which have marked our industrial life, hence there is fear lest free competition may not receive the protection needed. The treaty itself is weak in this respect; although it specifically forbids cartels, the prohibition is qualified in subsequent clauses. This aspect of the Common Market became the chief concern of a United Nations committee which studied the plan. Thus, while gaining the advantage of bigness, Europeans will also inherit the problems which accompany Big Business.

The architects of the Common Market tried to anticipate problems and they have provided in advance for adjustment in various instances. For example, a present tariff-protected firm or industry in one country may not be able to compete under the new plan with a more efficient enterprise in another member state. In order to meet such problems an Investment Bank will be established which will help finance modernization and conversion. Likewise, a Social Fund will aid in retraining or resettlement of workers. In addition, various escape clauses of the treaty simply make certain provisions inoperative in certain instances. While these features emphasize the complexity of the effort, they also reveal a realistic view on the part of the leaders and a willingness to compromise in order to gain the larger objectives. Rather than weakness, such cushions and shock-absorbers may carry promise of greater permanence.

The structure of the Common Market is similar to that of the Coal and Steel Com-

munity described above, some parts even being identical. The same Assembly and the same Court of Justice will serve both organizations and Euratom included. Instead of a High Authority, the executive group for the Common Market is known as the Commission. Like the former, it has nine members elected by agreement among the national governments. But unlike the High Authority of the ECSC, which has a large degree of independence, the Commission of the Common Market is restricted to close supervision of the Council, a six-man body representing the national governments. Herein is the main difference between the earlier Coal and Steel project and the Common Market: the member states retain a greater degree of sovereignty under the Common Market treaty. In line with this there exists also a greater parliamentary control by the Assembly over the executive branch of the Common Market than it has with respect to the High Authority of the ECSC. These provisions reflect the trend away from the supra-national idea which set in during the years following the defeat of EDC in 1954.

In spite of such limitations the Common Market presents one feature of special interest. The parliamentary Assembly to which the Commission is responsible is chosen by the six national parliaments. But the treaty provides that the Assembly shall draw up plans for elections by direct universal suffrage. If this is carried out and adopted the Assembly would become a true European parliament, serving, as it does, the Common Market, Euratom, and the Coal and Steel Community. When it is recalled that a motion of censure by the Assembly (adopted by two-thirds of those voting) can force the members of the Commission to resign their office in a body, the question may be relevant whether there exists in this situation the germ of future political union. Political and social institutions, such as the British Parliament, for example, have evolved from more tenuous roots than this.

The third part in this effort in economic integration could well become the most fruitful of all. The European Atomic Energy

Community, or Euratom, is looked to by many as the agency which shall eventually free Europe from its dependence on Middle East oil. The Suez crisis of 1956 provided an impressive lesson for Europeans. Because of the high cost of imported fuels, particularly oil from the Middle East, it is hoped that electricity produced by nuclear reactors will in time become competitive and at least provide Euratom countries with a better bargaining position with respect to the exorbitant prices of Middle East oil.

In contrast to the Common Market, Euratom represents a field where no traditional tariffs or entrenched interests are yet rooted. Hence its goals can be reached sooner than those of the Common Market. In fact, Euratom started off in 1959 with the completed schedule by which all material and equipment related to nuclear energy passes freely among the six countries. In addition there are goals for the immediate future, including the establishment of nuclear power plants to be run cooperatively by the member states and to be financed by themselves. Another objective is a "Joint Nuclear Center" for research which will employ an international staff of a thousand scientists and technicians. Discoveries will be made available to all six nations but patent laws are regulated to encourage individual initiative and research.

The chief difference between Euratom and its counter-part in the United States, the Atomic Energy Commission, is that the former will not produce atomic weapons of any kind. The United States will supply Euratom with certain non-fissionable materials. The plutonium which will be produced by Euratom's atomic reactors in the process of creating electric energy will be passed on to the military organization, Western European Union (WEU), which is closely related to NATO.

The administration of Euratom is similar in all respects to that of the Common Market. It has its own Commission (five members instead of nine) and a Council of six members representing the member states. The same Assembly and Court of Justice which

serve the Common Market also act for Euratom.

What effect will these developments have on the rest of Europe and the United States? With respect to the latter, official policy has been consistently to encourage and even to insist on cooperative endeavor by European governments and people. This has been so from the days of the Marshall Plan to the most recent developments. It is clear that a strong Western Europe will mean a healthy, powerful ally in the Cold War, needing no hand-outs. But now that a customs union of competitive strength has come into being, American business is becoming alarmed. The chief cause is the external tariff of the Common Market group; also stiffer competition from the area itself. Furthermore, it is reasonably certain that the Latin American market will be entered by the six-nation group, making stronger competition there. High production costs of the American manufacturer will be an even greater factor than at present.

On the positive side, however, along with the political advantage mentioned above, it is expected that the United States will supply much of the capital goods and raw materials — and capital itself — which will be needed as the effects of the newly formed *Zollverein* are increasingly felt. The current trend of establishing branch firms in Europe by American business will now be stepped up, even against the protests of labor unions in their concern for employment at home. There is evident already a conflict of interests in the United States between certain business groups on the one hand and official policy based on political and military considerations on the other. The same issue will cause differences between business groups themselves, and between big labor and migrating business enterprise.

Perhaps the most widely shared hope for a happy outcome for all concerned rests on the prospects for a vast new advance in Europe's economic life as a result of integration. The potential for such an advance is undoubtedly there. It has been pointed out,

for example, that nine out of ten homes in Belgium have no bath, that three out of four homes in Italy have no radio, and only one in twenty German homes enjoys television. The people of Europe, who have been hosts for tourists through the years, are now becoming tourists themselves in their own lands; Europe is about to graduate from two wheels to four. It is expected — or hoped — that Europeans will experience a business prosperity and an increased standard of living which will result from the wider market available to all. For example, Belgium, finding 160 million customers within reach in place of her own nine million, may find it profitable to manufacture automobiles. Is Europe about to enter the Age of Big Business?

What of the other European countries still outside the customs union? One trend has been toward the consolidation of nearly all of western Europe into a Free Trade Area in a less restricted association than the Common Market. But the latter group are not inclined to water down their own unity in order to include the broader interests of the outsiders. Britain has important commitments with the Commonwealth nations which prevent her full membership in the Common Market. Yet she is vitally concerned, as always, with what goes on across the channel. It appeared for a while that such a Free Trade Area, embracing most of Free Europe, might be formed, in which the Common Market would function either as part of or along side of the larger system. But strong opposition to the idea developed, particularly in France, and by 1959 the project had virtually collapsed.

In its place there was then formed under Britain's leadership the well publicized European Free Trade Area (EFTA) of seven countries — The United Kingdom, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Austria, Switzerland, and Portugal. Formally organized in November, 1959, and known as the Outer Seven, the EFTA has emerged as a potential rival to the Common Market, now referred to as the Inner Six. The treaty for the EFTA provides for the elimination of all tariffs between the

member states over a period of ten years. It does not provide for a common external tariff, however, nor is there any thought of moving toward political unity like that which the EEC aims at with its built-in features of political integration. On July 1, 1960, the seven governments began their first tariff reduction among themselves, a cut of twenty per cent on virtually all non-agricultural trade. The apparent purpose of the EFTA is to develop a position of strength in dealing with the Common Market. It is British inspired and British led, and represents British response to the EEC. The members feel that this is the best way to meet the very real competition of the Common Market and bring pressure to bear for some sort of compromise in its projected program.

The past year, therefore, has witnessed a series of moves and counter-moves by the two groups which, in journalistic jargon, has left Europe at "sixes and sevens." The Commission of the EEC early in 1960 announced plans to speed up the time-table for lowering tariffs and otherwise implementing the treaty. Immediately a cry of anguish went up from the Outer Seven, who had hoped to achieve a bargaining position before the Common Market gained too much momentum. There was talk of a developing trade war, a split in NATO, and schism in free Europe. There were recriminations in London against the United States on the eve of the Summit Conference because of American support for the recent move by the EEC. Thus the Common Market became an issue in the diplomacy of the Atlantic Community. At the same time it was recognized as an established power group in Europe. The year 1960 may well be remembered as the year when the Common Market came of age.

The most obvious fact in evidence of its growing maturity is of course the accelerated schedule of tariff reductions among the members. A ten per cent reduction (the second such) went into effect on July 1, 1960, and will be followed by a third cut of ten per cent at the end of this year. The next one, scheduled for December, 1961, will be increased

from ten to twenty per cent. Thus by that time the Common Market nations will have reduced their tariffs toward one another by fifty per cent — instead of the thirty per cent originally set as the target for that date.

How is this speed-up accounted for? It came about partly because of the appearance of a rival group, the EFTA, and in part as a result of the remarkable success of the enterprise thus far. Business firms are availing themselves of the advantages which the new arrangements provide. Mergers are taking place among firms of different member states; sub-contracts are being farmed out to smaller firms located in member states other than that of the manufacturer; mail-order houses and retail chains are extending their operations throughout the Common Market. Business is sharply aware of the advantages of mass-consumption among the 160 million prospective customers. The current prosperity in Europe is also giving the Common Market a healthy boost. The one dark cloud is the danger of a split into two trade blocs as the Outer Seven hardens into a possible permanent competitive system. This question of a possible trade war and its effects on outside nations such as the United States looms large on the agenda of unfinished business in Europe.

This current trend in Europe also raises the larger question whether the years immediately ahead are to witness a coalescence of world trade into blocs. For example, a Latin American trading bloc, one for the Moslem lands, and another for the new African nations. The forty-eight American states have functioned as such a bloc; the nations of the British Commonwealth have for a generation enjoyed preferential tariffs. The past decade has seen the formation of a Communist trade bloc as part of a formidable political system. Whether this is to be the pattern of the future, however, is as yet a matter of conjecture.

Caution is needed in appraising any new situation in today's fluid world. But this much is clear: we are confronted with the firm beginnings of economic integration by six

sovereign states of Europe. This modest approach to union reveals a potential of some significance. It assuredly holds promise of added strength for the West in the Cold War. This is well understood by the Communists, who have constituted the chief opposition in the six parliaments when the treaties were being ratified. A united Western Europe would be practically immune to Red conquest by subversion, and—of even greater danger to Soviet power—it would be a magnet of attraction to the Soviet satellites of Eastern Europe.

Political leaders see in the current movement the possibility of a Third Force in the present power balance. As such it could presumably alter the precarious conditions now existing under the Washington-Moscow impasse. Yet another angle in appraising the current unity movement concerns a basic political fact of Europe, namely, the problem of Germany. With or without unification, Germany must be reckoned with in any consideration of Europe's future. By means of the Common Market, Euratom, and the Schuman Plan the energies of the German people, their strength of character, and their industrial leadership may be channeled into a common effort for the benefit of all Europe and the free world. Moreover, the new pattern of European relations inherent in this development holds the only constructive promise of healing that long and bitter feud between France and Germany which has plagued Europe these many generations. The present efforts are modest but realistic. These two attributes should do much to insure success.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The teacher interested in this subject for purposes of special report or term theme will find a wealth of material easily available. The American Committee on United Europe (120 East 56 Street, New York 22, New York) will supply booklets and article reprints upon request. The March, 1958, issue of *Internation-*

tional Conciliation (published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, United Nations Plaza at 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y.) is a sixty-page description of the Common Market by Serge Hurtig, price twenty-five cents. The Twentieth Century Fund (41 East 70th Street, New York 21, N. Y.) issued a forty-page booklet entitled "Euratom: The American Interest in the European Atomic Energy Community," by Ben T. Moore, February, 1958. The Chase Manhattan Bank of New York also distributes a forty-page booklet entitled "The New European Market: What It Means to U. S. Business."

A number of full-length books have been published dealing with the history and analysis of the European unity movement. Among them are:

Max Beloff, *Europe and the Europeans*, an international discussion. Prepared at the request of the Council of Europe. London: Chatto and Windus, 1957. 278 p.

William Diebold, Jr., *The Schuman Plan*. A study in economic cooperation, 1950-1958. Published by the Council on Foreign Relations. New York: Praeger, November, 1958.

Ernest B. Haas, *The Uniting of Europe*, political, social and economic forces, 1950-1957. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958. 536 p.

Kenneth Lindsay, *Towards a European Parliament*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1958. 167 p. Available from Manhattan Publishing Company, 225 Lafayette Street, New York 12, N. Y.

Arnold J. Zurcher, *The Struggle to Unite Europe, 1940-1958*. New York: New York University Press, 1958. 235 p.

The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature will reveal a wide treatment of the subject in all periodicals devoted to public affairs. Particularly helpful are articles in *Current History*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Vital Speeches*, and *United States Department of State Bulletin*. The *Foreign Policy Bulletin* has kept abreast of the movement with timely articles, as have also the more popular weekly magazines. Recently published text books of European history contain references to the ECSC, the EEC, and Euratom.

Essential Changes for the United Nations In the 1960's

FRANK T. ARONE

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Basically the United Nations is an earnest attempt of man to seek peace by promoting improvement in the political, economic, and social spheres of his life. Thus there is today a General Assembly, a Security Council, and an international court of justice; a World Bank; and a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization which strive to alleviate the problems common to all humanity, irrespective of culture, nationality, or race.

However, change is a constant force and as its pressure nestles and scrapes the structures of these institutions, it forever demands that they alter themselves to meet new conditions or disintegrate and ultimately become defunct. Thus the agencies mentioned above of other institutional structures, must also assimilate the exuberant change of the challenging decades or suffer a slow but eventful death.

When the United Nations was founded in 1945, the world was faced with the formidable consequences of war, and the minds of men yearned for some international agency to direct the efforts of world peace. In spite of intensive reflection, the wisest sages could not foresee the coming of future events. The need for an emphasis on conference and law was not as great as today since the world was not cognizant of the potential destruction of future atomic bombs, much less its hydrogen progeny. Many soon doubted "whether the United Nations had been endowed with sufficient powers to cope with the situation in which the threatened use of new weapons of mass destruction would be ever present."¹

There were also other unforeseeable

events. The world could not envision obstacles to a world peace force. Speaking of the purpose of the Charter provisions for power concentration in the Security Council, Pearson said:

One reason for hope was that its decisions were to have behind them an overwhelming superiority of armed forces deriving primarily from the forces of the Great Powers themselves. In addition, other members of the organization undertook to make armed forces available to the Council, on its call and in accordance with special agreements.²

However, such provisions have remained unused. The United Nations today does not have an effective peace force. Five years after its establishment, Russia had to be absent from the Security Council for a police force to be sent to Korea. Since the United States was forced to supply the majority of the troops, many have charged that it was a United States war under a United Nations flag.

Thirdly, the world did not foresee the enormous challenge of a new rival ideology called Communism, a hostile totalitarianism which is determined to conquer the world. Fourthly, it could not envision the political force which would echo its voice in Asia, for a more expressive say in the world conferences as a representative of increasing millions. Lastly, in its quest for peace in an hour of hurriedness, it overlooked the role which religion could play as an auxiliary but guiding force.

Although it is certain that there are disagreement and legal impediments under the

present United Nations Charter, the world must seek essential changes through the revitalization of the faith which was held by men at its birth. Cordell Hull expressed this nicely when he said, the Charter was framed "as a human rather than a perfect instrument. It has within it ample flexibility for growth and development, for dynamic adaptation to changing conditions."³

THE NEED FOR EMPHASIS ON LAW AND CONFERENCE

It is time, therefore, that the world asked itself, "What must we do to make the United Nations a more effective instrument?" First, since there are weapons of great potential destruction, there is greater need for peace through conference than ever before in the world. G. L. Mehta, Ambassador of India to the United States, has said, "But as statesmen all over the world have declared, there will be neither victors nor vanquished in an atomic war. Radio-active clouds are not going to respect political frontiers and trade barriers."⁴

Perhaps one might add that the voice of Barbara Ward sounds a similar echo. She says:

Yet never, never before could it ever be thought that from a war no remnant of humanity would survive. . . . Color, race, class, ideology—these differences vanish as we all stand in our stark, basic equality as mortal men facing the risk of extinction.⁵

However, two admonitions are to be kept in mind during an atmosphere of world conference. One is that peace efforts should not be monopolized by dominant Big Four meetings, but made within the structure and framework of the United Nations. Visits by world leaders may ephemerally improve relations between states, but they can do more harm than good for unity in an international agency if they do not integrate their work with the voice of the United Nations. Furthermore, as time goes on and the Asian-African bloc enlarges itself in the General Assembly, that agency to which the world looks during a deadlocked Security Council,

its will may not be in accord with the Big Four. Speaking of the fact that small nations may resent the dominant voices of the Big Four, Roberts says:

Above all, we must realize that it is not within the power of the United States alone to bring an end to these dangers, though it could through stupid actions guarantee the victory of Soviet Communism or atomic conflagration.⁶

To refer to a specific problem, the United Nations and not the Big Four meetings must be utilized as the workshop for the solution of disarmament problems. McCloy says:

In line with a consideration of the problem of disarmament, I should like to see renewed attention given to the U.N. and the part it can play in bringing about a more peaceful situation. Considerably more can be done to strengthen it as a center for discussion of differences and conciliation of disputes. It offers, after all, the only established meeting ground for the representatives of peoples from all continents.⁷

The second note regarding caution at conferences lies in a closer analysis of the Communist tongue. The author refers to instances where Russia cries for atomic disarmament. Perhaps we must more closely analyze the motive behind the words. It is believed that the United States has concentrated its energy on atomic warfare. The U.S. has a forceful army and air force with good striking power. However, Sulzberger states that we have only fifteen divisions.⁸ On the other hand, Russia can fight two kinds of war. She has atomic weapons as well as 175 divisions, including 65 armored divisions.⁹ One must remember that if large amounts of troops were killed by bombing Russia can lose five divisions to every one of NATO's.¹⁰ In an attempt to further emphasize this threat of Communist manpower, Sulzberger adds, "China's manpower is incalculable."¹¹

It is the belief of the author that Russia has put forth words on atomic disarmament because she has seen her advantage in conventional weapons as well as the fact that

there is greater possibility of war using armed forces than hydrogen bombs. Barbara Ward has lucidly described this point when she said:

Russia's insistence upon banning nuclear weapons—a cry that echos in every human heart—conceals the gimmick, that the abolition of atomic arms leave supreme the man with tanks; and the Russians—and the Chinese—have thousands of tanks and millions of men.¹²

Furthermore, Russia has called for the reduction of armed forces of one million men. However, Lincoln White has said that the reduction could lessen world tensions, but it "would in no way affect actual power of the Soviet Union's arms."¹³ Besides White states that with "reduction in standing armies, there would be no verifiable means of checking the forthcoming cutback."¹⁴ Sulzberger also doubts the Russian interest in force reduction as he says, "Despite Moscow's clever propaganda about force reduction, conscription continues at a rate unimagined in democracies."¹⁵

As to the emphasis on law, the International Court of Justice, the Hague body of fifteen judges which is elected by the General Assembly and Security voting independently, must be given its legitimate place. Although it is to be remembered that it took more than fifty years before the United States would accept the decisions of the Supreme Court on boundary differences and more than eighty years before other important questions between states were referred to the court,¹⁶ the political organs of the United Nations have not demonstrated the proclivity to ask for "advisory opinions either on legal issues of the dispute or on the question of authority of organs concerned to take jurisdiction to act."¹⁷ Speaking of the increasing need for utilization of this body, Wilcox said:

What is needed is more encouragement to states to do this and the cultivation of attitudes of greater respect for judicial function and specifically for the court as a major organ of the United Nations.¹⁸

Probably the best plan for the utilization of the court was set forth by Rhyme in a speech delivered before the Los Angeles Bar Association on January 23, 1958, in which he refers to the court as the "best known but the most unused tribunal of justice for decisions of international disputes."¹⁹ This is justifiable when one stops to think that it has decided only on an average of slightly more than a case a year since 1945.²⁰

Rhyme is of the opinion that the court is inaccessible, and that there is a lack of comprehension by the world of its jurisdiction, techniques, and precedents. The hope is here expressed that the court will show its willingness to sit in places outside of the Hague.²¹ Dr. Arthur Larson, director of the World Rule of Law Center at Duke University has further emphasized this point by urging "regional lower courts, arbitration tribunals, and claims courts." He also suggested mediation and conciliation agencies within the system to handle political disputes between nations.²²

Perhaps it might be pertinent to add that the nations of the world must agree that only law is to be the determining factor in deciding disputes. This would supersede the Statute of the International Court of Justice or the United Nations Charter, and possibly might make provision for economic and other sanctions against those members which do not abide by the decision of the court.²³ However, the reader may ask, how does Russia fit into the settling of such disputes? If she does not agree, the plan cannot be effective. Rhyme's answer to this question is "Russia could not be expected to form a plan for peace under law and justice. But this plan can capture the minds of uncommitted peoples of the world for its sponsors and leaves Russia naked of friends."²⁴

A WORLD POLICE FORCE

First, there is a great need for an adequate peace force which can be made available in time of aggression. One of the primary steps is to create some permanent machinery so that the forces of the United Nations members can be given authority and

that such a force may be constructed on a brief notice for emergency action. One need not be reminded that the world must not experience again the situation of November 1956, when everything had to be done extemporaneously. There was no precedent for making units available, no administration and no financial procedure to which the Secretary-General could turn.²⁵ Pearson adds with admonition, "we cannot reasonably expect the same degree of success a second time."²⁶

Secondly, member governments excluding members of the Security Council should be asked to show their willingness in principle to give forces to the United Nations.²⁷ Thirdly, the Secretary-General should be given a permanent military advisor, and a small staff to make arrangements.²⁸ Fourthly, the force must be capable of fighting after it has been placed in the field. Pearson adds, "It will act as the U.N. policeman and watchdog."²⁹ In short, since the United Nations has provided observers and constructed an emergency police force in time of aggression, the United Nations must seek a "systemization of these two concepts"³⁰ as a starting point for the future.

Other factors which must be considered with regard to such a force are its size, its home, its manner of control by a United Nations body, and its financing.³¹

MORE ECONOMIC AID THROUGH THE U.N.

Thirdly, there is an ever increasing need to give economic and less military aid to the "have-not nations" of the world. This is true because military aid brings only temporary security, but economic aid if used effectively can be a permanent alleviator of poverty. Ward has stressed that there is, however, a western reluctance to give economic aid by saying:

Inside western democratic society, the principles of welfare have been enshrined and well-being more widespread than ever before. But we hesitate on the edge of their wider application—to the whole family of man.³²

Furthermore, when aid is given by a

nation, its ethnocentric attitudes may obstruct its ability to understand the effects its aid will have on another nation. Roberts says: "The real problem is not to teach people to use new tools, but to discover the appropriate tools for a particular society."³³ Mead stresses the same point when she poses the question—"How can technical change be introduced with such regard for cultural patterns that human values are preserved?"³⁴ The important factor is that if change is not brought about carefully, it can act as a source of unrest, and "this source of tension is, of course, one that Communists are particularly interested in exploiting and have a long record in this regard."³⁵

Fused with the misconception of culture, one must add that some nations give aid with the purpose of gaining control over the economic and political way of life of a nation, rather than in the interests of human betterment. They disregard the fact that "the whole object of such aid is to make the recipient countries increasingly independent, not to make them more dependent; the object is to help nations help themselves."³⁶

Since these problems do arise when individual nations distribute economic aid, your author is of the firm opinion that this task can only be successfully accomplished by the United Nations, since it has no single nationalistic or ideological character but a fusion of many. Aid from specific nations can arouse suspicion. However, such aid on the part of the U.N. would show the world that the large powers are only interested in aiding nations to improve economic and social standards.³⁷ Roberts adds:

"Not only do U.N. actions avoid the possible imputation of U.S. control and U.S. imperialism, but they can make use of varied and important talents among nations."³⁸

A NEW PLACE FOR INDIA

Again, at the present time, the nations within the structure of the Security Council which possess the veto power base their claim to it upon their strength and status as big powers that emerged from World War II. However, as the world continues to be faced with the Asian population explosion, this

area of the world by virtue of both its numbers and future industrial potential is becoming more significant as each day passes. In spite of this factor Asia is voiceless in the Security Council. Mehta speaking for the Asians has said:

We feel that there is inadequate recognition of the importance of Asia in the council of nations. For example, Asia is hardly represented in the Security Council of the U.N. Asian nations feel they have little say in settling Asian problems.³⁹

Since there is much disagreement over the admission of Red China, India, the second largest populated nation of Asia, should be given a permanent seat in the Security Council. Although she does not have great military or economic strength, she has established herself as a nation to which the world listens with respect.⁴⁰ India's resolution in the United Nations of the Korean question in 1952 was the foundation for a cease fire. Furthermore, India has played a part in helping to stop hostilities in Indo-China and established three Associated States.⁴¹

India is able to provide the essential link in the U.N. in two ways. She may serve as a connection between the cultural understanding of the east and west for she knows the ways of the west through British acquaintance, as well as the poverty and misery of Asia. Furthermore, she may serve as a link between the capitalistic and Communist nations. Mehta said:

A country which has contacts with both sides, which in a time of crisis can serve as a link and which can interpret the feelings and views of one side to the other has a valuable role to play.⁴²

THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN THE U.N.

Lastly, since the United Nations is an agency brought into existence at a time of pressing need, many individuals in a state of confusion believed that peace could be sought purely by human means. However, as men struggle for this goal, they will see that human means are not enough. Perhaps a religious commission should be established

in the U.N. whereby the efforts of God and men could be combined, and prayer and charitable work could be promoted on a world basis. One can rest assured that even an atheist will be impressed by the calling on Him in an hour of need. Although Russia may not be expected to join, what feeling of confidence it would give those individuals behind the iron curtain who have been deprived of their faith, if they knew that there was some agency fighting for the dignity and religious beliefs of men.

The possibility of such an organization was discussed by R. S. S. Gunewardene, Ambassador of Ceylon to U.S., He said:

It is my humble opinion that there is no war between religion and religion. Religion points the way, places before you a norm that is a guide for your daily life and existence. It places before you the highest ideal. Therefore, all men and women of good will, all who have a sense of spiritual values, must unite for the common cause, the preservation of peace and preservation of mankind.⁴³

Pope John XXIII has cried forth in a similar voice in his Christmas message. He said:

The fact is that true peace cannot come save from God. It has only one name: pax christi (the peace of Christ); it has one aspect that impressed on it by Christ, who was if to anticipate the counterfeits of men, has emphasized: Peace I leave you, my peace I give to you.⁴⁴

These are the voices of the Buddhist and Christian worlds in a time of stress, calling for help from a superior being to improve the international situation. For the Hebrew, the Hindu, the Mohammedan, there is also this Someone. For each group, there is a Prince of Peace.

¹ Francis O. Wilcox and Carl M. Marcy, *Proposals For Changes In The United Nations*, p. 1.

² Lester Pearson, "Forces For The United Nations," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 35, No. 3, April, 1957, p. 396.

³ Wilcox, *op. cit.*, p. 1; "Statement By Cordell Hull," United States Department *Bulletin*, Vol. 13 (July 1, 1945), p. 13.

⁴ G. L. Mehta, "India In World Affairs," *Vital Speeches*, Vol. 21 (July 1, 1955), p. 1323.

⁵ Barbara Ward, *Five Ideas That Changed The World*, p. 153.

⁶ Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

⁷ John J. McCloy in foreword of Henry L. Roberts, *Russia And America*, xxvi.

⁸ Cyrus Leo Sulzberger, *United States Foreign Policy*, p. 108.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

¹³ *New York Times*, January 15, 1960, p. 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Sulzberger, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

¹⁶ Wilcox, *op. cit.*, p. 380; Charles Warren, "The Supreme Court And Disputes Between States," *International Conciliation*, no. 3661 (January, 1941), pp. 30-42.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 379.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

¹⁹ Charles S. Rhyme, "World Law Or World Holocaust," *Vital Speeches*, Vol. 24 (March 1, 1958), p. 296.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Russell Porter, "Wider Role Is Urged For World Court," *New York Times*, January 31, 1960, p. 1.

²³ Rhyme, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Lester B. Pearson, "Forces For the U.N.," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 35, no. 3 (April, 1957), p. 402.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 403.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 404.

³¹ Francis O. Wilcox, "Views of Department of State on Creating a U.N. Emergency Police Force," *U.S. Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 39 (August 25, 1958), pp. 324-327.

³² Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

³³ Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

³⁴ World Health Federation For Mental Health, *Cultural Patterns And Technical Change*. Edited by Margaret Mead, iii.

³⁵ Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

³⁶ Mehta, *op. cit.*, p. 1324.

³⁷ McCloy, *op. cit.*, p. xxvi.

³⁸ Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

³⁹ Mehta, *op. cit.*, p. 1324.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1322.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1323.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ R. S. S. Gunewardene, "Buddhism Is Awareness," *Saturday Review*, December 26, 1959, p. 57.

⁴⁴ Christmas message of Pope John XXIII which was delivered December 23, 1959, *New York Times*, December 24, 1959, p. 4.

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The Treatment Of Childhood Years In American Biography

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In the writing of American biography, the historian is compelled to acknowledge a striking irony. The most important years of the personality's development are accorded the least amount of space. All of the social sciences confirm the significance of those formative years, 1-15. They agree that the succeeding decades of a person's life cannot

be explained adequately without a knowledge of what happened to the man as a child.

The inadequate treatment of the childhood years is not only a reflection on the craftsmanship of the historian; it may be a symptom of the transitoriness with which society is inclined to label those early years. Both the teacher of history and the reader of his-

tory miss much that they need. The teacher of history could use the materials of the childhood story to enlighten and motivate his pupils in the study of history. Without an account of those childhood years, the general reader of history may be misled and denied access to the insights by which to interpret the subject of the biography.

It is the purpose of this article to measure the importance of the childhood years in life perspective, to examine the common practices in treating those years in American biography, and to suggest some precautions by which to write, read, and teach American biography.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CHILDHOOD YEARS

That the "child is father of the man" is a principle of "social wisdom" as well as psychological insight stressed by *psychiatrists*. "A man does not outgrow his childhood. He acquires the physical growth of manhood and the intellectual development of adult life, but he never escapes the influence of his earlier years."¹ Psychiatry emphasizes the environmental influences during infancy and childhood. In the nursery itself the child's emotional life is nurtured into a pattern. So basic is the experience of parental love to the child's early nurture that if the security of that love is missing, the child will become emotionally deformed; and will be unable to appreciate and reciprocate the affections of those he meets later on the playground, in the factory, and in the new home he establishes with marriage.²

The *psychologists* underscore the positive achievements of a person in his first decade of life. "At the age of five [the child] has already come a long way." In many respects he has become self-dependent in meeting some personal needs in the home. He is ready to enter the new community of the kindergarten. At that point the psychologist says that "the five-year-old at least presents a preliminary version of the ultimate adult." Over the succeeding five years the child is under much pressure to adapt himself to the demands of the culture all about him. The child experiences new tensions. Sometimes they seem excessive to him. The child "on his

part is also bent on assimilating the culture; because of course, he is destined to graduate from his five-year-oldishness."³

Sociologists pay special attention to the childhood years for at least two reasons: 1) being concerned with group relations, the sociologists are aware that all societies classify their members into age groups. They find that "the ascription of the child's status and the way for the child and youth to achieve status . . . are the heart of the class system of any society." In fact, the sociologists regard "the status of the child element in the population, the factors affecting its status, and its relationships to other population elements [as] a major part of the problem of group relations in sociology."⁴ 2) The relationship of the individual to the group is a most formative one in the childhood years. The child gets his patterns of behavior from the responses he observes his parents and others in his family make to one another and their problems. The child also gets his picture of himself from others. His awareness of his distinctive personality is growing during these early years; and he depends on the reaction of others to him for the distinctive lines. Finally, the parents introduce the child to the controls of society. In doing this, the parents also furnish the child with the rationalizations for reforming his habits and inhibiting his native reactions to conform to social standards.⁵ In short, the sociologist insists that personality is not innate but is acquired and achieved. He sees personality as a reflection of the social environment in which he has been reared and to which he has reacted.⁶ At the same time, both psychologists and sociologists recognize that the responses of individuals to their environment are not identical. Each person has a unique experience.

Education and religion, which draw heavily on the sciences of psychology, psychiatry, and sociology, gear their programs of activity to the assumption that childhood years are strategically formative.⁷ In the light of the importance thus attached to that period of life, the historian cannot go his own way without incorporating those values into his

own principles of research and writing.

The Social Science Research Council's Committee on Historiography has urged the historian to draw upon the findings and to practice the techniques of the other social sciences in order to throw more light on this problem of historical investigation. The historian, whether or not he is an exponent of the "Great Man" theory of historical development, is always concerned with the outstanding individual. The historian seeks to relate the individual to his times. The Committee on Historiography reviewed the principles of sociology to which the historian needs to pay attention. Personality development must, of necessity, be examined against the cultural background of the times. There are "complex relationships between the traditional cultural beliefs and practices in which individuals are reared and the features of personality most frequently found among members of society."⁸

The Council Committee was aware that the infant comes into contact with that culture most intimately in the home. "If adult personality types seen in the culture are to be understood, psychological growth processes should also be studied in terms of early family influences and methods of childhood training." These are the "most formative years" in which the developing personality includes the "unconscious dynamics to which psychoanalysis defers."⁹

Therefore, it would seem logical for the biographer to consider using some "clinical psychological methods." That would involve establishing hypotheses about the adult personality on the basis of the childhood evidence. As the biographer examines each major situation in which the subject finds himself, the biographer would test the hypothesis. To follow such a procedure, the historian would "provide clues to the understanding of motives" and also focus the biography sharply on the processes of personality development."¹⁰

THE HISTORIAN'S NEGLECT OF THE CHILDHOOD YEARS

History is a written record of *selected* human events. It appears that most events

which historians select for interpreting the past are shaped by adult people. Consequently, the makers of history are adults. Besides, the adults who read history are more largely interested in the adult world. The world of a child is limited, if not geographically, certainly by the status assigned to the child. Little authority is delegated to children. Little counsel is sought from children. On the other hand, the presence of children in the home and in the community alters the activities of adults much more than they are willing to admit. However, being inclined to relegate a child's world to a position of unimportance, adults are equally ready to dismiss the world of some earlier child in which a biographer ought to be interested. The biographer is thus prompted to hurry into the adult life of his subject.

Another cause of the historian's neglect of the childhood years is the paucity of documentary evidence of the events, values, and personality of the child. During the early years the child cannot write and leave his own written record. His parents find themselves so busy with the routine responsibilities of life that they do not have much time to observe the child carefully and make a written record of their observations. Besides, while parents may have high hopes for their child's future importance, the absence of any evidence that he will attain to social prominence provides little inducement to make notes for the interest of posterity. Consequently, finding few materials with which to reconstruct those early years, the historian cannot write much about the childhood of his subject.

Furthermore, the historian has hesitated to employ the tools of psychology and psychiatry because of their unreliability. Psychoanalysis and psychiatry are young sciences about which much remains to be learned. The various schools of psychology are based on conflicting hypotheses; and, although many laws of human behavior have been agreed upon, they are not adequate for predicting the behavior of an individual with accuracy and finality. Until the historian can use these

tools with more assurance, he will be reluctant to use them at all.¹¹

The student who examines representative biographies written over the past half century is impressed by the small proportion of space devoted to the childhood years. The biographers sometimes offer explanations for their brevity; but more often they assume that no explanation is needed.

In writing his little volume on *Elihu Root and the Conservative Tradition* for the Library of American Biography series, Richard Leopold consciously minimized the first two decades of Root's life. Of course, his study was not intended so much as a life sketch as a description of the impact of Root's conservatism on public affairs. Nevertheless, Leopold offered an explanation of that conservatism. It was his later years that were more determinative. While acknowledging that this "conservatism of Elihu Root is easily explained against the background of his family heritage and youthful environment," Leopold quickly warned that "the contribution of the parents to the making of a conservative is less easily demonstrated." It was the "far-reaching changes of 1865-1900 that shaped the thought and outlook of Elihu Root."¹²

Catherine Drinker Bowen started her story of *John Adams and the American Revolution* when John was ten years old. She believed that only those years and events which were of *conscious* importance to John Adams should be included in her story.¹³ Thus, she ignored the findings of psychoanalysis and discounted the emphases of modern psychology and sociology.

A biography as recent as Eleanor Young's *Robert Morris* (1951) devotes only two paragraphs to Morris's life before the age of fifteen.¹⁴ For all practical purposes, the author found Robert as a fifteen-year-old boy and made little apparent effort to discern the influence of any earlier events in his life. In like manner, N. G. Goodman has Benjamin Rush in Princeton College by the time he reaches page six of his four hundred and twenty-one page biography. Even then, what he says of the earlier years is either con-
 jec-

tural or of such a general nature as to reveal little of the childhood life.¹⁵ The biography of Rush's son, Richard, was equally quick to get into the adult life of the subject. On page six Richard was entering college.¹⁶ So common is the practice of ignoring the childhood years that rarely does a biographer find it necessary to justify his omissions.

On the other hand, many of the monumental biographies of American figures make a noble attempt to find some significance in the first fifteen years of the person's life. The reader ought to be aware of how the historian copes with the difficulties of reconstructing those childhood years. Does the biographer employ the insights of the other social sciences? The life of a child is a complex experience which cannot be recounted simply. The child's relationships with his parents, his associations with his brothers and sisters, and his contacts with such secondary groups as neighborhood, church, school are formative influences. Nor is the child free from the impact of the civic movements near and far. The biographer should understand the cultural patterns and values of which his subject is a product. On the other hand, he must remember that since all individuals have "unique" experiences, the employment of broad generalizations may be neither revealing nor realistic. The individual may be unconscious of his environmental influences and the reasons for his conduct. Therefore, the biographer could throw light on his subject by probing into the subconscious drives or restraints that underlie the personality traits and problems.

COMMON PRACTICES IN THE TREATMENT OF THE CHILDHOOD YEARS

In the absence of documentary information, the biographer is inclined to resort to *plausible generalizations*. He fabricates these from the social materials of the times. There is much to be said for this practice. It is essential to understand the environment which the individual shares with many others. It loses its usefulness when it assumes that all children in the same community, of the same social class, and of the approximate age have the same experiences. Every child

is inclined to respond to his experiences uniquely, consciously or unconsciously.

It is obviously an inaccuracy to assert about the lad, Alexander Hamilton, that his "was quite probably the typical life of a youngster on a West Indian plantation at the time." Fortunately, the author, Nathan Schachner, goes on to point out circumstances in Hamilton's case that made his childhood *not* "typical." It was rather unique—"the omnipresent facts of a vanished father, an unhappy mother, and their utter dependence on the charity and kindness of relatives."¹⁷

The poor unlettered Lincoln family left no contemporary records of Abe's boyhood days. Albert J. Beveridge, expressing a tone of caution about calling on the neighbors' recollections of Lincoln, nevertheless ventured a generalization that "by vague accounts, [he was] much like other boys." He went on, in the absence of data, to conclude that Lincoln's emotions must have been like those of "other children of similar age [9] and in the same conditions."¹⁸ In the light of psychological and sociological research, it is doubtful whether such a statement is valid. Douglas Southall Freeman succumbed to the same questionable conclusion about George Washington. Freeman confessed that in spite of all his painstaking research there was so little meaningful data available that the boy Washington was no more a personality than any other lad of the same period.¹⁹ The writer's error was not in failing to describe a unique personality. He had no evidence with which to make such a description. Rather, the error lay in claiming that no distinctive personality existed.

The historian might address himself to the question of why descriptive documentation does not exist. Why is there no more data on the emotions of the child Abraham Lincoln? Was it because he was so nearly "normal" or "typical" that he did not stand out distinctively? On the other hand, it is possible that no matter how unusual the child's personality, he and his family may not have been of sufficient social consequence to the lettered people to have merited any written reactions.

In the case of Washington, it may be more difficult to explain the absence of a childhood record. His family did have important social status and he was surrounded by people who could read and write.

Since so much of the childhood experiences cannot be narrated with certainty, the biographer frequently hazards the guesses of *probabilities*. This amounts to another form of generalization; and is subject to the same weaknesses. It is always possible that a person will respond to circumstances differently from what people might expect. Beveridge had no contemporary testimony as to why the Lincolns left Kentucky. This was an important event in the life of Lincoln and, perhaps, for the future of the nation, too. Therefore, an explanation of the move would seem to be essential to the Lincoln story. Beveridge settled for this *probability*: "... it would seem to be *reasonably certain* that the civic and social ferment going on about them was not to their liking."²⁰ Could one not "reasonably" assume that the move had some other motivation? It is not the purpose of this article to offer alternative conclusions or explanations; but certainly a little thought would suggest other interpretations.

Freeman employed conjecture sparingly and with due notice to the reader. He wrote thus "with some hesitation because in the past, plausible guesses regarding obscure incidents of Washington's career have been passed on as established 'facts'."²¹ Freeman used the subjunctive mood to fill in with circumstantial evidence what he could not report with certainty. This, he hoped, would arouse interest without confusing supposition with truth. Stepping through George's childhood community with little tangible evidence to support him, Freeman reported that "when George went there [home of the Hedges] he *may have* found delight in the contrasting colors of the different rooms;" and by the time George was four 'he *may have had* ear and partial understanding if anyone told him how, years before, woodmen had seen a juice dropping from trees on back-country lands owned by the McCartys." Continuing his flight of imagination from what-

ever bases the circumstances could offer: "*Perhaps* his elders spoke of Stratford below Longwood . . . [but] these *must have been* no more than musical names to the lad."²² Under the conditions of "may have," "if," "perhaps," and "but" the author imaginatively stimulates the reader's imagination. However, history is history only when it is based on firm evidences.

Because parents play such an important role in the lives of children, they must necessarily exercise a molding influence for good or ill. It would logically follow that a biographer could not afford to omit from his story some account of *parent-child relationships*. It is usually difficult to document the nature of these relationships. Circumstantial evidence is likely to be so general as to be meaningless. In Richard Rush's case the author asserts that "the father and mother exerted an important influence upon the children, for they were remarkable people." To prove his point, the author summarized the interests, activities, and achievements of the father, Benjamin Rush.²³ Most parents, whether "remarkable" or not, exercise an "important influence" upon the children. What this biographer should really have discovered—but may have lacked the data—was how the child, Richard, reacted to such busy, important, and creative parents; and how such preoccupied parents regarded their child. The "love" principle is so basic in parent-child relations that any tangible research ought to throw some light on the operation of that principle.

Harry Barnard has claimed that the absence of a father in the household of Rutherford B. Hayes after the age of four was a traumatic experience from which Rutherford never fully recovered. His Uncle Sardis Burcharth lived in the home for a time; but soon departed. The fact that the boy was also sickly until the age of eight kept him away from other children. Consequently the boy lived in an emotional loneliness. Barnard concluded that "whether he consciously realized it or not, [Rud] felt a need for a father. In truth, as a psychological matter, much of his

life was to be an endless search — for a father."²⁴

Nathan Schachner's subject, Alexander Hamilton, had a similar abnormal childhood, except that his birth was illegitimate and he lost his father by desertion. Historians have been tempted to interpret Hamilton's adult aggressive ambitiousness as a "psychological compensation for the irregularity of his birth." Schachner is cautious. He imagines that Hamilton's appetite for glory and his impatience to progress "were bottomed in part on the knowledge that there was no cushion of family respectability and inheritable estate for him to fall back upon." Yet, to credit the conditions of his birth solely responsible for his personality expression is "to simplify unwarrantedly a complex personality and a complex era."²⁵

William Penn had the normal privilege of having a father in his home, although his navy duty took him away for weeks at a time. His position in the navy was among the "top brass." How did William react to a situation like this? Apparently biographer Catherine Peare has no way of knowing except through *conjecture*. She surmises that "his father was *probably* a hero to William. His standard!" He was old enough to feel the impact of this "volatile, rigorous out-of-doors personality suddenly striding through the household . . ."²⁶ Can we be sure that all boys would react that way to those circumstances? And can we be sure that his father's status in the navy is so important in little William's scale of values? There were other circumstances that must have impressed him, too.

In reconstructing the childhood years of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Frank Freidel had the advantage of much documentary evidence of the experience of the boy with his parents. The parents had kept a diary of the child's experiences from the day of his birth. Because he was an only child, Franklin spent most of his time in the company of adults, and, as a small boy, impressed people as being rather serious and precocious. Because the parents had wealth and time to devote to one child, the interrelationships of child and parents must have been very close and deter-

minative for the future. Franklin's father spent much time with the boy in playing and learning. The boy became acquainted with such serious matters as the management of land and the care of trees; and Freidel suggests that this "led years later to his own extensive forestry." The personality traits of Franklin were deliberately nurtured by the parents. "The Roosevelts, teaching through example and admonition, wished to make Franklin honest, fair, considerate, and a good sport." Their teaching techniques were evidently carefully chosen for James Roosevelt "believed in keeping Franklin's mind on nice things, on a high level; yet he did it in such a way that Franklin never realized that he was following any bent but his own." Freidel concludes that "the record indicates a sheltered rather than overly stern upbringing."²⁷

The abundant documentation in the case of Franklin D. Roosevelt's childhood testifies to the molding impact of parents on children and the responses which children evoke from their parents. Likewise, in cases where documentation is lost or never existed, the parent-child relations must be equally close and significant.

Undoubtedly the parents play the most important role in the early years of the child's life. However, if there are other children, the child's reaction to them and to his parents' dealings with them is by no means insignificant. Too often, as in the case of Richard Rush, not all of the other children are named or even recognized as existing. Those named are quickly brushed aside.²⁸ The biographer of John C. Calhoun slights the sister and three brothers of his subject.²⁹ On the other hand, Douglas S. Freeman conscientiously tried to picture the inter-sibling reactions in the family of George Washington, especially insofar as George was concerned. For example, George had some sense of bereavement at the age of three when his half-sister Jane died. At five he was aware of the arrival of the new baby, Charles. But it was Lawrence who was the idol of the little six-year-old George when Lawrence returned from the military service in 1738.³⁰

When a child grows up in a home with other children, he necessarily feels the pressures of "give and take"; and his personality is molded accordingly. The lack of such experiences is bound to make its mark on the child's personality. Perhaps that is what explains why "Franklin [Roosevelt] habitually assumed the initiative and ordered his playmates around."³¹ He lived in a home where he alone received the attention of his parents.

Every child has the experience of belonging to a number of *secondary groups*. As soon as the parents allow the child to go across the street and play with the neighbor children, the child participates in a neighborhood community. Early in life he finds himself within the fellowship of the church. At the age of four or five the child may be in "play school" or kindergarten for a couple of hours each day. In each of these situations, he meets new adults as well as children; and must face up to the problems which those contacts raise in his little world. The child finds that secondary groups modify his habits, attitudes, pattern of relationships.

It is a well-known fact that Horace Greeley was largely self-educated, spending no more than forty-five months in school over a ten-year period. Glyndon Van Deusen attributes Greeley's intolerance and self-righteousness as an adult to the fact that as a child, he never had to learn much from others. "What a first-class education might have done for him no one can tell. It might have made him more tolerant of the opinions of others . . . it might have given him a deeper and surer understanding of human nature."³²

Catherine Peare attributes William Penn's religious sensitivity to the political and school environment of his boyhood. "Times under the Puritan regime were pious times, pious and repressed, when even sea-faring men like Penn were careful to be frankly Godfearing in speaking and writing, partly because they were at heart Godfearing but partly because it was politic. . . ." Since God seemed to be an established political fact, "a sensitive, half-grown boy, fed a rigorous diet of religion in school, could expect religious pangs when his physical growing pangs set

in." Mrs. Peare points out that "the Commonwealth lasted for eleven years, throughout most of William Penn's boyhood and teens; and while its impact upon his thinking did not show any serious effect until he reached college, the leaven of liberalism must have been at work in his soul almost from the beginning."³³

A child cannot escape the civic community if for no other reason than his parents' responsibilities in it. The child is not legally responsible during those first fifteen years. His parents are accountable for his conduct. Nevertheless, the child feels the impact of the political community on his parents. Whether or not the child is more than vaguely conscious of it is a problem for the historian to investigate. Charles Wiltse thinks that John C. Calhoun's later awareness of sectional conflict and the need for compromise is traceable to two political events that occurred in South Carolina in his childhood. The contest over the ratification of the national constitution in 1788 when Calhoun was six years of age provoked such a conflict in South Carolina that "could [not] fail to leave its impress on the eager mind of John Caldwell Calhoun." The second important event was the state constitutional convention in 1790. Wiltse claims that "it was an important influence in determining his future career and molding his political creed." The emergent constitution was a compromise, and the writer concludes that "thus early in his life, Calhoun learned the value of compromise and the worth of purposeful resistance in bringing it about."³⁴ Those are strong assertions; and are based on no stronger evidence than the recollections of Calhoun sixty years after the events.

Writing history on the basis of recollections is hazardous. It is possible that the intervening years would become confused with the earlier experiences; or it may be that the wistfulness of age for the days of childhood may assign a glory that he had not felt at that time.

In the twentieth century the technique of psychoanalysis has been developed to uncover true motives in the past of people. The biog-

rapher has difficulty employing the method because very often his subject is deceased and there is a scarcity of documentary materials on the childhood years. In spite of those limitations, the psychoanalytical approach can be useful.³⁵ For the future historians, there will be records of public figures who have reached back into their past from the couch of the psychoanalyst. Perhaps some of these records will be available, even before the death of the subject.

Even when the Freudian approach to the childhood years is used, the problem of interpretation remains. Of the several possible hypotheses, the biographer is apt to select the one that justifies his notion. In suggesting that some one experience or idea has shaped the personality of an individual, the interpreter is in danger of accepting the fallacy of consistent, regular development of personality. For example, Katherine Anthony based her interpretation of Margaret Fuller's life on the theory that the domination of her early years by her father molded the rest of her life.³⁶ This sort of logic could end in a deterministic explanation of history. At the 1954 convention of the American Historical Association, its president, Professor Merle Curti, warned against the uncritical application of Freud's explanations. The Freudian emphases tend to "detract from the belief that human rationality . . . is the most important realm in which man can fruitfully live."³⁷

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

For the historian and would-be biographer, this essay should focus attention on a neglected period of a person's life. It recounts the obstacles and hazards to treating the childhood years meaningfully. If the biographer will be diligent in his search for documentary evidence he may be able to write more fully and accurately. Employing the techniques and analyses of the other social sciences, the historians will not only give body to the first decades of a person's life but will also throw light on the adult years. Taking these precautions, the biographer will use generalizations and probabilities sparingly and judiciously.

For the teacher of history, this article should suggest some potential values in having his pupils look into the early years of historical personalities: 1) the lives of historical figures become much more arresting when viewed in the perspective of a lifetime of growth; 2) certainly the adults who make history will be better understood when seen against the background of their earlier experiences. 3) since the childhood and teenage years will seem relevant to adult life, the high school students will be more inclined to identify themselves with the past; and their imaginations can thus be aroused to the potential significance of the days of their own years.

For all readers—historians, teachers, students, parents—this article should underscore the need for creating, selecting, and keeping documentary evidence of our own childhood years as well as those of our own children. The writing of diaries by parents and their children is a valuable aid to personality study. Scrapbooks containing newspaper clippings on the activities of children and their parents are useful to the historian. Parents can organize their photograph albums and file the various official documents related to their children. So many of these get lost or hopelessly scattered beyond the reach of historians.

Finally, all readers of history and biography should be conscious of the weaknesses and strengths of the biographer's treatment of the childhood years. In doing so, the reader could raise questions as he reads so that he will get the most from his reading; and he should seek to distinguish between fiction and fact. It would be profitable for the reader to get better acquainted with the findings of the other social sciences so that he may keep those in mind while reading of the adult, as well as the childhood, years of his subject. These suggestions may seem to be asking too much of the history-minded world; but they can be keys to richer and fuller understanding of the past and the future.

¹ C. S. Bluemel, *Psychiatry and Common Sense*, (New York: Macmillan Co., 1954), 8.

² *Ibid.*, 3.

³ Arnold Gesell and Frances L. Ilg, *The Child from Five to Ten*, (New York: Harpers, 1946.)

⁴ James H. S. Bossard, *The Sociology of Child Development*, (New York: Harpers, 1948), 6-7.

⁵ Kimball Young, *Sociology: a Study of Society and Culture*, (New York: American Book Co., 1942), 374.

⁶ Bossard, *Ibid.*, 34.

⁷ George W. Fraiser, *An Introduction to the Study of Education*, (New York: Harpers, 1951), 131. Stanley I. Stuber, *Primer on Roman Catholicism for Protestants*, (New York: Association Press, 1953), 214 (on Catholics) and 221-223 (on Protestants).

⁸ Social Science Research Council, *Report of the Committee on Historiography*, "The Social Sciences in Historical Study," (New York, 1954), 65.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 66.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 67.

¹¹ Edward N. Saveth, "The Historian and the Freudian Approach to History," *New York Times*, Book Review Section, January 1, 1956, 7.

¹² Richard Leopold, *Elihu Root and the Conservative Tradition*, (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1954), 10.

¹³ Catherine Rinker Bowen, "The Business of a Biographer," *Atlantic*, 187 (May, 1951), 50-56.

¹⁴ Eleanor Young, *Forgotten Patriot: Robert Morris*, (New York: Macmillan Co., 1954), 8-10.

¹⁵ N. G. Goodman, *Benjamin Rush: Physician and Citizen, 1746-1815* (Philadelphia: U. of Pa., 1934).

¹⁶ J. H. Powell, *Richard Rush*, (Philadelphia: U. of Pa., 1942).

¹⁷ Nathan Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1946), 16.

¹⁸ Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln*, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928), I, 49.

¹⁹ Douglas S. Freeman, *George Washington*, (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1948), I, xii.

²⁰ Beveridge, *Ibid.*, 33. Italics mine.

²¹ Freeman, *Ibid.*, 47.

²² Freeman, *Ibid.*, 49-50. Italics mine.

²³ Powell, *op. cit.*, 5-6.

²⁴ Harry Barnard, *Rutherford B. Hayes and His Times*, (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1954), 73.

²⁵ Schachner, *op. cit.*, 8. Italics mine.

²⁶ Catherine Peare, *William Penn*, (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1956), 18.

²⁷ Frank Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: the Apprenticeship*, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1952), 22.

²⁸ Powell, *op. cit.*

²⁹ Charles M. Wiltse, *John C. Calhoun, Nationalist*, (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1944).

³⁰ Freeman, *op. cit.*, 57-58.

³¹ Freidel, *op. cit.*, 25.

³² Glyndon L. Van Deusen, *Horace Greeley; nineteenth century crusader*, (Philadelphia: University of Pa., 1953), 6-7.

³³ Peare, *op. cit.*, 17-18.

³⁴ Wiltse, *op. cit.*, 24.

³⁵ John A. Garraty, *The Nature of Biography*, (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1957), 219.

³⁶ Katherine S. Anthony, *Margaret Fuller, a psychological biography*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1921), iv.

³⁷ Merle Curti, "Intellectuals and Other People," *American Historical Review*. 60 (January, 1955). 274.

A Footnote to "No Taxation Without Representation"

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Many important events in American history are epitomized by well-known slogans. As digests of historical epochs, slogans often serve better than other means to recall our country's past. For example, which supplies the more vivid memory of the Anglo-American dispute over the Oregon country, "Fifty-Four Forty or Fight" or the list of conflicting claims? "Remember the Alamo" surely does more to recall the independence of Texas than the date 1836. And the best remembered cause of the American Revolution is "No Taxation Without Representation," not the entanglements of British mercantilism.

Besides summarizing and helping to recall events, slogans fulfill another important purpose. They cohere the disunited sentiments of the public; that is, public opinion readily forms over an issue which can be expressed succinctly and remembered easily. Because recollection of such phrases helps to mold public opinion, does this mean that an issue's true significance, as expressed by a slogan, is understood?

Hardly, because slogans tend to misrepresent events. This feature is important, for mere knowledge of a slogan may become a substitute for further thought on the subject. They divert attention from basic issues by minimizing the overall significance of related events and circumstances. Conclusions based on slogans alone, therefore, are unsound.

A good example of a misleading slogan is "No Taxation Without Representation." That there was wild, unprecedented excitement over the Stamp Act of 1765, every schoolboy knows. What is not so well known is that the

cry of taxation without representation conceals basic socio-economic forces leading to opposition, and the subsequent repeal of the Act. Indeed, the true meaning of this agitation is largely unappreciated, ignored, or unknown. For such reasons we often fail to properly evaluate the significance of the factors which gave rise to the Stamp Act opposition.

A consideration of the neglected or unknown causes which produced the unparalleled excitement over the Stamp Act can help to illumine the true significance of the slogan "No Taxation Without Representation." With this in mind, let us inquire into two common, but incomplete, explanations of this excitement.

One explanation of the tumult caused by the Stamp Act is expressed by the slogan "The Tyranny of George III." This is a theory which holds that the tax, passed with the support of the King's henchmen in Parliament (the "King's Friends"), was part of that monarch's attempt to assert himself as a ruler. But the colonists' dislike of George III's rule cannot explain resistance to the tax. If this were true, then the English King was also to blame for all bitter colonial disputes which followed his ascension to the throne. A rather ridiculous explanation, it seems.

A more rational explanation is taxation without representation. This is a theory attributing Stamp Act opposition to a far distant Parliament which had the audacity to pass a tax without colonial lawmakers present.

However, this view is also very difficult to defend. First, the price of the stamp aver-

aged less than twenty-five cents a year for each person, so it did not unjustly injure the colonists. Second, since the beginnings of colonization Parliament had taxed without regard to representation. Third, by determined opposition the colonists exerted some control over taxation—new taxes after the French and Indian War (1763) were all repealed except a minor one on tea.

Hence, it is obvious that it was neither hatred for the King nor the injustice of taxation without representation that caused resistance to the Stamp Act. Why, then, did the colonials decide to resist taxation in the year 1765? Why not earlier?

Where must we search for the answer? Among the dominant groups in colonial society, naturally. Because no matter how we view the stamp tax issue, one thing stands out clearly—resistance needed leadership. It hardly need be observed that those who fell heir to this role had been resisting England all along: namely, those who directed the domestic and foreign affairs of the colonies.

A look at the leaders of opposition will support this viewpoint. The Benjamin Franklins, the Thomas Jeffersons, the Samuel Adamses, the James Otises, and the John Hancocks, who later became known as the champions of colonial rights, were the moving spirit of resistance. As merchants, property holders and lawyers, each had a vested interest at stake. It would therefore be naive to assume that opposition to the Stamp Act was a spontaneous, "grassroots" movement!

We may offer the opinion, then, that the most influential groups in the colonial economy were themselves primarily responsible for arousing opposition to the stamp tax. They included merchants, manufacturers, large landowners and their intellectual representatives in the professional classes. Important in this last group were the lawyers, involved as they were in the legal stratagems made urgent by English restrictions on businesses.

Two of these groups, the merchants and budding industrialists, had a long-standing

reason for opposition—British mercantilism. Their interests had long been thwarted by England's mercantile policies. Moreover, the threatened enforcement of trade regulations following the French and Indian War foretold bad times for them. So they grumbled, for example, over the prospects of a shrunken market for hats or the determination of officials to collect duties on foreign molasses.

The third powerful group in the economy, the landed aristocracy, at first was only slightly affected by mercantile practices. Hence, they did not fully appreciate the plight of the merchants and manufacturers. In 1765, as we shall see, the landed gentry finally did feel the full impact of mercantilism; and their complacency exploded.

The Stamp Act of 1765 precipitated an uproar among the dominant classes. The grumbles of the merchants and manufacturers turned to angry howls, nearly matching the outraged cries of the large landowners. This clamor indicated that their collective interests were in jeopardy. Never before had enforcement provisions of an act been so cleverly designed to root out colonial practices now becoming a major threat to England's effort to manage its empire.

According to the Stamp Act, any business now carried on in the colonies which involved legal and commercial documents (leases, bills of sale, deeds, mortgages, wills, and contracts) needed to have a stamp affixed. The documents involved in such transactions were recorded, witnessed by the King's stamp agents, and sent to England. Any fraudulent records discovered in the process were declared null and void. It appears the British were determined to enforce the Act. This was spelled out in definite terms. Those affixing and recording stamps were representatives of the Crown and free from the jurisdiction of colonial courts, and any stamp agent found guilty of corruption came under the penalty for offenders falsifying records—imprisonment and/or death following trial in England.

Because the Act could not be easily evaded, it had a profound effect upon the colonial

systems of land, trade, and labor. It dealt a crushing blow to those groups dependent upon large-scale agriculture, triangular trade, and continuance of colonial practices of employing labor.

First of all, the Stamp Act hurt large-scale agriculture by its curtailment of land speculation. During the colonial period land speculation often fostered the development of extensive agriculture. Enough evidence exists to safely state that wilderness tracts thus obtained for agricultural expansion frequently lacked definite boundaries. Many who exchanged these lands were either large landowners interested in increasing crop yields (particularly staples like tobacco and cotton), or speculators interested in the immediate opportunity for profit. Preoccupied with such motives, seldom did buyer or seller show concern for property lines. Under these conditions it was natural to find land speculation rampant in the 17th and 18th centuries. Involved in this easy exchange of land were many people whose gains were tainted by bribery and corruption of government officials or by outright chicanery practiced on the public. Honest speculators were indeed hard to find in a country of abundant land and uncertain boundaries.

Those who dealt extensively in land did, however, serve a useful purpose. They helped to push the frontiers of America rapidly westward, thus aiding the country's total economic development. But many of these land deals were extra-legal. And the required stamping of legal documents brought such transactions under the enforcement provisions of the Stamp Act. This restricted land exchange.

The Stamp Act also threatened past as well as future land sales. Many landowners began to wonder about the validity of their claims. Would their deeds stand up under investigation by stamp agents? Certainly many had cause for apprehension.

The Stamp Act not only adversely affected many landowners, but it also curbed the money-making activities of those engaged in triangular trade. This prosperous trade

which the colonies enjoyed saw American rum (manufactured from West Indies molasses) exchanged in Africa for Negroes who were sold as slaves in Caribbean colonies. The rum trade did much to enrich colonial manufacturers, and commercialists engaged in shipbuilding, shipping, and trading. Since rum was made from molasses, this lucrative business was illegal according to the Sugar Act of 1764. But this act, like its predecessor the Molasses Act, was evaded. The Stamp Act, however, meant strict enforcement of the Sugar Act; so many were threatened who directly or indirectly derived profit from the trade, including slave owners. Again, legal papers involved in the production and exchange of rum (as well as the very labels on bottles and packages) needed the ruinous stamp.

No wonder that as a group the landowners, merchants, and traders were anxious to oppose the Stamp Act and to express their moral indignation over a system of taxation without representation!

The Stamp Act wrought greatest havoc with the colonial labor system. The employers of large numbers of workers—mostly the planters, commercialists and manufacturers—felt the consequences of restrictions placed upon employment of labor. Why was this feature of the Act so important? Simply because most laborers were under contract, and these contracts fell under the enforcement provisions of the Stamp Act.

In colonial times labor had to be contracted because it was scarce. Laborers were few because of the ease with which land could be acquired. A man with but little initiative could secure a wilderness plot for farming and become his own master. Thus free workers were few in number. The main source of labor had to be nonfree and under contract.

Bonded labor was a boon to America's plantation system. How else could the many field hands necessary to its operation be secured? We recall that in the 1760's there were relatively few slaves in the labor force, because slavery did not become important until the years following the invention of the

cotton gin in 1793. Most plantation workers, then, were white men in bondage.

So the labor supply throughout the colonies fell into two categories: white indentured servants and Negro slaves. The majority were white servants bonded to masters, under a term contract called an "indenture," in exchange for transportation across the Atlantic.

A great many of the men, women, and children who came to America as indentured servants did not come voluntarily. They came under sentence of English courts as debtors, criminals, or paupers; others were kidnapped and sold into service.

Historians estimate that from one-half to two-thirds of all white people emigrating to the colonies were contracted labor. And because fraudulent indenture practices were so widespread, the majority were under questionable bond. Nothing need be said about what the Stamp Act could do to uncertain contracts and to those who were profitably engaged in the unlawful aspects of indentured servitude traffic.

Whether an indenture was legal had momentous consequence in a land where few laborers were free. It is significant that a country's labor force comprises the overwhelming majority of its total population; and of a colonial population of about two million in 1765, the majority were bonded workers. Thus the power of the Stamp Act to rescind contracts could check an expanding colonial economy which desperately needed a continued influx of labor.

In fact, without an ever-growing labor force to satisfy the growth potential of the economy, agricultural, industrial, and commercial productivity would be squelched. This meant that those in control of colonial production would find themselves unable to compete with their counterparts in England who enjoyed a glutted labor market. To fall behind in the production race meant certain ruin. Colonial America, if that happened, would revert to a country of small farmers, that is, become a market for British-produced goods.

The aim of the Stamp Act now becomes clear. It was designed to eliminate America as a rival of England. It would achieve what all prior mercantilist laws failed to do, namely, destroy competing colonial businesses. This result was necessary if the colonies were to serve their proper mercantilist function — assure the Mother Country of a favorable balance of trade by consuming its surplus goods and by providing a source of raw materials.

The groups directing the colonial economy saw all this, and they did not like what they saw. History tells us that they were equal to the struggle for survival, and prepared to go all out in their own defense. With this goal in mind, it became essential to enlist the cooperation of the masses.

This was some chore! The ordinary citizen had not been directly affected by mercantilism. Why should he deny the right of Parliament to regulate the trade of the empire? In the end, this obstacle of public indifference was overcome by harping on a chief feature of the stamp tax. That is, as a direct tax, similar to today's sales tax, it affected almost everyone. For example, anyone who bought a newspaper or a pamphlet, advertised, bought or rented or sold a house, or made a will had to yield the price of a stamp.

Looking back on the year 1765, perhaps the grounds for public opposition seemed inherent in this first direct tax levied by Parliament. But it is easy to attach undue importance to this as a motivating factor, since there must have been many whose purse-strings were only slightly affected, if at all, by the stamp tax. Nevertheless, the nature of the tax implied an effect on the material interests of the masses. Therefore, they were susceptible to propaganda urging resistance.

Once the public was aroused, opposition spread like wildfire. The Sons and Daughters of Liberty were formed, and stamp agents were tarred and feathered. The Stamp Act Congress was organized to formally protest, and finally, English imports were effectively boycotted. By popular mandate the repeal of the Stamp Act of 1765 was brought about.

The slogan "No Taxation Without Representation" reveals much more than a simple objection to taxes by Parliament. It tells us that the people were ripe for opposition, because the Stamp Act was a direct tax. It implies that the masses protested, because they were provoked to do so by powerful colonial groups whose interests were jeopardized by the Act. And it indicates that opposition was complete, because for the moment the interests of the masses and the influential classes coincided. Interpreted thus, we have a plausible explanation of why all classes of colonial society became infected with an unprecedented and unparalleled excitement over the stamp tax.

So it was not in itself the idea of being taxed without representation that sparked an opposition which ultimately flared into the American Revolution. On the contrary! It was the Stamp Act's enforcement provisions, operating to the detriment of important colonial groups, that led to the fervor which gave rise to the slogan "No Taxation Without Representation." The slogan really epitomizes the struggle certain economic groups had to free themselves from the restraints of British mercantilism.

(Readers interested in the complete text of the Stamp Act can consult: Hart, A. B. and Channing, E., *American History Leaflets*, Lovell & Company, N. Y., 1892, No. 21)

The Teachers' Page

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EDUCATION FOR LEADERSHIP

This Teachers' Page is, in part, a report on a TV program, broadcast Sunday, March 27, 1960. It was the first of a series of programs sponsored by the Columbia Broadcasting Company entitled: *The Great Challenge*. The particular topic was: "Can We Improve Our Education for Leadership?" The participants were Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, Thomas K. Finletter (former Secretary of the Air Force), Victor L. Butterfield (president of Wesleyan University), Marquis W. Childs (syndicated political news columnist), and Howard K. Smith as moderator. It is perhaps no insignificant observation, from our own personal viewpoint, that Mr. Rockefeller seems to possess those qualities of leadership which he cited as being essential to a good leader, with which the other panelists agreed, as well as one or two other qualities of leadership suggested by others of the speakers. It is also significant that the audience present at this discussion, as indicated by its applause, reacted favorably and most warmly to most everything which Mr. Rockefeller said. Mr. Finletter also received ample applause, and he and Mr. Rockefeller were generally in agreement in their analysis of leadership. It

is further noteworthy that Dr. Butterfield, towards the end of the program, in a slip of the tongue, referred to Mr. Rockefeller as Governor Roosevelt.

The specific qualities of leadership enunciated by Mr. Rockefeller and supported by the group were faith, purpose, knowledge, and experience. Faith was enlarged to include a sense of morality, character, integrity. Purpose was broadened to include goals, directions, and a positive rather than a negative program of action. Knowledge was conceived by Mr. Finletter to include first, intellectual competence, and second, wisdom, both personal and social. Experience was what it means: experience in leadership on succeeding higher and higher levels of governmental functions.

Just before the conclusion of the program, Mr. Childs introduced another concept with respect to leadership, which received warm approval from the other panel members and the audience. A good leader, he said, needs to have courage to take a position on issues, even if they may be unpopular. This is the toughest test of courage. Someone commented that Mr. Rockefeller demonstrated such courage on the question of taxes. The

governor responded warmly and added that, in the long run, people will accept even unpopular measures, such as taxes, when they realize it is best for all concerned.

In order to better consider the function of education in the development of leadership, Mr. Smith suggested that the group first try to answer one of Mr. Finletter's implied questions, namely: What do we want to educate our leaders for? In other words, what is the United States going to do in the future? What are or should be the country's aims and goals? Where do we want to go?

The consensus of the group was in support of both Mr. Rockefeller's and Mr. Finletter's answers to these questions. Mr. Rockefeller felt that the United States is in a position to exercise much needed leadership of a political nature, the same kind that our founding fathers exercised at the beginning of our Republic. Mr. Finletter was more specific. There is need today—for the sake of our own and the world's preservation—for the beginning of a new world order, not world government immediately (that is not possible at present), but a world order where war would no longer be used as the means for settling national differences and disputes. Mr. Childs expressed the optimistic view that such a beginning has already been made. Mr. Rockefeller hammered away at the idea that we need to raise our sights and to develop new political concepts. The dignity of man and the maximum realization of the individual's own goals within the framework of society's goal was accepted by all.

On the role of education and leadership, Mr. Finletter asked Dr. Butterfield directly whether our institutions of higher learning are performing adequately with respect to developing responsibility on the part of young people to participate actively in both political party activities and in government. Mr. Finletter gave a great deal of emphasis to the importance of political parties in our form of democratic government and the related importance of somehow getting young people to enter into the work of political parties. He received applause for this statement. Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Childs con-

curred. Mr. Rockefeller, however, stressed that it is the responsibility of political parties to attempt to get students interested in party and government work by actually recruiting on college campuses. The political apathy of Americans was cited by the referral to voting statistics—50% in general elections and about 30% in primary elections, as compared to percentage of 80 and 84 in Britain and Germany respectively, and higher in Russia.

The general feeling of the group was therefore that these colleges and universities should try to devise ways of getting young people to train for leadership in governmental functions. At this point, Dr. Butterfield, who served in part as a kind of balance wheel, raised the question of whether it is wise for educational institutions to attempt to direct young people to prepare in certain areas of leadership in preference to others. His thesis was that the purpose of education is to train students in developing autonomy of judgment so they can be free to direct their leaderships in whichever areas of our social and political life they can make the best contribution.

Mr. Childs raised a point, which others have made from time to time, regarding the apparent political apathy of our college youth. In particular, he cited the fact that in European universities students are very vocal, sometimes to the point of rebellion, when it comes to certain political issues. Our student energies, groupwise, seem concentrated on panty raids and seeing how many students can be stuffed in a single telephone booth. Dr. Butterfield responded to this by indicating that in the 1930's American college students were vocal and did organize, but that the current crop of students reflect the depression and war years of their parents whose main values were security.

As an aside observation, we wonder whether the kinds of vocalism and political activity that European and South American college students demonstrate on political issues are indications of political maturity or immaturity. We think it is the latter, just as rioting during political elections by the populace is an indication of immaturity.

The group seemed to accept Dr. Butterfield's comments that it may be unwise for institutions of higher learning to focus greater attention on governmental leadership and neglect others. The compromise, if it might be called that, was that it is the function of higher education to develop in young people a sense of responsibility for government, perhaps more so than has been done in the past. Mr. Childs and Mr. Rockefeller suggested the encouragement of a kind of internship on the part of college people in government and party activities. Some colleges do this now with their political science students by having them do volunteer work for senators and representatives.

On the issue of the kind of education, everyone stressed the need for emphasizing the humanities in order to develop the kind of inner strength that is necessary to a democratic society. In responding to the Russian challenge, we need more than a military umbrella of strength. We need a double-barrelled strength: (1) professional strength in the form of engineers, scientists, and military powers, and (2) humanized understanding.

There was little time for the group to discuss secondary education except to stress that no matter what our formal education programs are, we must first start with a good pre-school education program which can only be supplied by the home. There was quick reference to the family, the church, and to our overall social values, as integral parts of the total educational picture. There was also a reference, but not fully developed, to the fact that perhaps we do not work our students as hard as we might.

* * *

On the matter of voting percentages, referred to in the above debate, Robert Rienow, professor of political science at the State University of New York in Albany, and his wife, Leanora Train Rienow, collaborated on one of the best analyses of the problem, in the *Saturday Review* (July 30, 1960). The question they raise is: "Should People Be Dragged to the Polls?" The point of view

they take is expressed in the following paragraph:

"The best scholarly findings indicate that *the nonvoter* has good reason to stay at home—and that we are doing our public affairs no good by pressuring him, unless at the same time we help him remove his personal disabilities. It is time to stop needling the man who is sitting out the election."

When voting percentages are compared between Russia and the United States, it should be noted, the authors state, that to the Russian, voting is merely "a symbolic act, a civic rite," and that it does not have a "direct relationship to Soviet decision-making." Voting, as an instrument of democracy, "is a complex, sophisticated expression involving the judicious weighing of alternatives and the evaluation of effects. It is functional rather than symbolic."

Several years ago we called attention in this Page to an article by Elmo Roper on the analysis of the American population with respect to political activity. Mr. Roper classified about half the population as being "politically inert." The only time these people act politically (vote) is when some great issue, which touches some vital aspect of their livelihood and life, excites them into action. These people read little, are unaware of economic, social and political issues, attend no meetings of any kind. To drag these people to the polls on the slogan, "Vote as you please—but vote," is of questionable democratic value, although it may benefit the politicians who do the dragging.

The Rienows approach this problem of the nonvoter by analyzing the politically inert individual. For the most part they cite evidence to support Mr. Roper's earlier analysis:

"... A Survey Research Center in a Massachusetts community—the latest of a series—showed nonvoters to be civic wallflowers. They are not inclined to be members of any groups that might put them in touch with civic life; they appear to live on a different wave length from people interested in politics; they are constantly short on information. When questioned about their attitude

on public issues, many more of the non-voters are in the 'I don't know' or 'undetermined' category."

Similar conclusions were reached by Professor Philip K. Hastings who refined the findings of the "Pittsfield Project." He discovered a "significantly marked social withdrawal of the nonvoters." The nonvoter "ensconces himself in such a deep rut that his horizon is at mud-level."

"Furthermore," the Rienows continue, "it was shown that nonvoting, uncertainty, and shortage of information were not by-products of inadequate education; they were much more than that. The nonvoter is blind to what is going on about him—regardless of his background." Another characteristic of the politically inert citizen is a strong egocentricity and self-centered view.

"The only favor he bestows upon his fellow citizens is the one we most berate him for—failure to vote."

The Rienows believe that "There is nothing cynical, snobbish, or uncharitable in the suggestion that we remove public pressure from the nonvoter. Nor does a citizen sacrifice his birthright by sitting out an election in which he has no interest. Not voting is not the same as being disfranchised. When a group or class is arbitrarily denied the ballot, it is defenseless, stripped; it lacks its power of 'massive retaliation' to any attack. The voting potential, not necessarily its employment, is the deterrent against legislative abuse."

It has been our own observation that voting in our country is frequently an expression of feelings against an incumbent administration, more so than favorable feelings for the opposition. The slogan, "It's time for a change," is what appeals most to the majority of voters. Nonvoting may indicate relative satisfaction with the status quo.

It may also constitute, according to the Rienows, "a form of political expression; it emanates a subtle, brooding power." It can be (and has been) "a yardstick of how dangerously near the politician was coming to unacceptable legislation."

What are the dangers in "ballyhooing" the nonvoter to cast his ballot on issues about which he has no information and no judgment? The danger lies in another characteristic of the politically inert citizen. He is very much dependent on "authority symbols." He is more subject to be led by the local editor, his boss, the labor leader, than the politically active citizen. The nonvoter is also a "potential pushover for a demagogue or a little Caesar." The danger lies in wheedling him into actions with no concern for his irresponsibility.

* * *

An editorial with an innocent title ("The Gadgets' Debate"), in the Sunday *New York Times* (March 27, 1960) focused attention on another very vital issue of today, which is partly related to the above debate but actually strikes at the core of the whole American economic philosophy and our traditional "laissez-faire" way of life. Quoting from the editorial:

"A small electrical tool that stirs mixed drinks, doing a job that can be more simply done with one's finger, a teaspoon or a swizzle stick, has become a symbol of a growing national debate about 'gadgets.' Former Secretary of Defense Robert A. Lovett recently cited this device as illustrative of the unnecessary frills on which we are wasting resources while other more urgent needs of our society go unmet. On the other hand, the chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, Dr. Raymond J. Saulnier, has just answered the charge that he is a high priest of gadgetry. He explained that in saying the goal of our economy is to produce 'things for consumers' he really was thinking of all civilian consumption, education and medical care as well as electric swizzle sticks and cars with tail fins."

"Since the debate promises to grow, it is desirable that the real issue be stated and understood clearly. The real issue is how our national energies and resources should be applied, and in what ratio, between public consumption—such things as defense, hospitals, roads and the like—and private consumption; that is, all the goods and services

each of us individually chooses to buy, from bread to mink coats and electric drink stirrers."

The issue is clearly stated. Should this country continue its policy of allowing a relatively free hand in the production of consumer goods, regardless of their utilitarian value, as an incentive for productive effort? Or should our nation, because of its "unprecedented struggle for survival," channel production into areas that will better promote survival?

"What this means," concluded the editorial, "is a call for higher taxes to permit what the advocates of such a course regard as more adequate satisfaction of the nation's needs for defense, education, medical care,

scientific research and other activities that primarily serve the entire community. The choice between these two views is one of the most important problems now before our people."

Readers of this Page are invited and encouraged to write to us and express their views on these very important issues.

Putting First Things First. By Adlai E. Stevenson. New York: Random House, 1960. Pp. 115. \$3.00.

This is an excellent evaluation of our present foreign policy, and a volume of pertinence for the reading of the scholar and layman. Its lucidity and analysis of some of the most critical problems of our time make it an outstanding contribution.

Instructional Materials

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NEW MATERIALS

Freedom Documents. Handsome facsimile reproductions of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights may be secured by purchase from the Supt. of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Do not send stamps in payment. Please order by title and catalog number as follows:

The Declaration of Independence (facsimile). 35 x 29 inches. Catalog No. GS 4.11/2: D37. 45 cents.

The Constitution of the United States (facsimile). 31 x 38 inches. Catalog No. GS 4.11/2: C76. 45 cents.

The Bill of Rights (facsimile). 33 x 31 inches. Catalog No. GS 4.11/2: B49. 45 cents.

Closely resembling the appearance of the original documents with their yellowish tint and faded brown ink, these facsimiles are available on three large sheets suitable for framing. The four pages of the Constitution have been reduced and reproduced on one large sheet. The Declaration and the Bill of Rights are about the same size as the original documents.

World Affairs Materials. Listed below are 1959 titles in the growing body of study

resources and resource items produced by World Affairs Materials, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn 10, N. Y.:

Resource Units: "China" (50c); "Middle East" (50c); "Southeast Asia" (50c).

Background Papers: "Ghana" (25c); "Challenges in International Education" (20c); "Studying Other Countries" (15c); "Exploring New Africa" (\$1.00).

Bibliographies: "Free and Inexpensive Materials on World Affairs" (\$1.25); "Free and Inexpensive Materials on Africa" (25c).

Color Filmstrips: "Profile on Pakistan" (\$6.00); "Profile on Puerto Rico" (\$6.00).

Free Films for Social Studies. Pamphlet describing 60 films that will provide excellent background for your social studies classes. Only cost is film transportation. Write to Modern Talking Picture Service, Inc., 21 W. 60th St., New York 23, N. Y.

FILMS

A Citizen Makes a Decision. 18 min. Black and white. Sale. Textfilm Dept. McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York 36, N. Y. In a case study of an "average man," this film emphasizes the importance of getting facts before making decisions at the ballot box.

Conventions at Work. 29 min. Black and white. Sale/rental. Indiana Univ. A-V Center, Bloomington, Ind. Discusses the sequence of events at a national convention—the role of the temporary chairman, the keynote address, reports of the four main committees, roll call for nominations, nominating and seconding speeches, and demonstrations for candidates.

Political Parties. 18 min. Black and white. Sale/rental. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, 1150 Wilmette, Wilmette, Ill. Emphasizes that political parties provide the means by which citizens act together to choose men for public office and to further programs expressing their interests.

Presidential Elections. 15 min. Black and white. Sale/rental. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc. Describes the process of electing a President of the U. S. by means of graphic charts and a wealth of photographic material. Analyzes the structure and strategy of campaigning organizations and the major political moves involved in the nomination and election of a President.

The Meaning of Elections. 11 min. Black and white. Color. Sale/rental. Coronet Films, Coronet Bldg., Chicago, Ill. Interviews with two voters and two public officials reveal that groups have power and responsibility. In addition, the film presents the methods of choosing candidates and various criticisms of the electoral process. It also stresses the importance of a free choice by voters.

Voting Procedures. 14 min. Black and white. Sale/rental. Association Films, Inc., Broad at Elm, Ridgefield, N. J. Presents the answers to a variety of questions of importance to all who may be considered future voters. The topics covered include: registration requirements, and procedures, preparation of voting lists, voting by paper ballots and machine, and a summary of voting procedures in primary and general elections.

Government Is Your Business. 28 min. Black and white. Rental. The Christophers, 18

E. 48th St., New York 17, N. Y. A dramatized story of a young man who enters politics against the wishes of his family and fiancée. After considerable experience with a corrupt political machine, he wins the support of the governor and others interested in reform. The film makes individuals conscious of the importance of their vote and their responsibility to use it wisely.

FILMSTRIPS

Momentous Decade: The Fifties. 59 fr. Black and white. Sale. Office of Educational Activities, *The N. Y. Times*, 229 W. 43rd St., New York 36, N. Y. Uses the dawn of the Age of Space as a backdrop for the growing might of the U. S. and the Soviet Union, and the bitter conflicts of "hot" and "cold" war that formed the global East-West struggle. It reviews the impact of the Fifties on America from the Korean War and the closing years of the Truman Administration through the Eisenhower years.

How We Elect Our Presidents. (Set No. 2 of the Civics Series which also includes *The Citizen and His Courts* and *How Foreigners Become Citizens*). Average length about 44 fr. Color. Sale. Textfilm Dept., McGraw-Hill Co., Inc., 330 W. 42nd St., New York 36, N. Y. A step-by-step clear and concise account of the procedure necessary in electing a President.

Political Parties and Elections. (Set No. 1 of the American Government Series which also includes *The Constitution*; *Federal System, Part I*; *Federal System, Part II*; *Congress*; *Organization and Procedure*. Average length, 38 fr. Black and white. Sale.) McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc. Presents basic information on political parties enlivened by charts, diagrams, and graphs.

Electing a President. 55 fr. Black and white. Sale. Office of Educational Activities, *The N. Y. Times*. Shows how the American voter elects a President; the issues; the whole process from conventions and the campaigns to voting booths.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

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Freedom of Speech by Radio and Television.

By Elmer E. Smead. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1959. Pp. 180. \$4.50.

The recent television scandals have drawn public attention to some of the outstanding problems which plague the whole of the broadcasting industry. From its earliest beginnings commercial broadcasting has posed legal and moral problems involving the fundamental concepts upon which our democratic society is based. While the personalities involved in, and the techniques for dealing with, these problems have changed, their nature has not. They are no nearer to solution today than they were thirty-five years ago.

In this book the key problems and issues which have surrounded broadcasting are analysed and organised under the general headings of: identification and definition of public interest, programming in the public interest, handling of news and controversial issues, governmental vs. self regulation by the industry, freedom of expression and the law. In his preface Dr. Smead says, "The book describes the long history behind these problems—their origins and development—and the current difficulties involved in their solution. It shows the variety of interests that are affected by what is done or not done and the incidence of help and injury which the conflict in interests creates. This study also demonstrates the complexity of the inter-relations of Congress, FCC, courts and broadcasters which are unavoidable in the attempt to solve each problem. Conflicting ideas of what is good or bad for the public interest make these inter-relationships still more complex."

Since these inter-relationships and the issues upon which they are based are so highly controversial and open to so many and varied interpretations, the author has

adopted a straightforward historical approach to understanding. He gives an exceedingly interesting and well documented account of the broadcasting industry from its inception up to the present, an account which is so full of colorful detail as to be entertaining as well as informative.

In the development of his book the author points out that even though broadcasting stations in the U. S. are private commercial enterprises, the federal government has decided that they have a duty to serve the public interest although this may mean at times that they must disregard the profit motive. Definition of the "public interest" has involved much controversy, but much of this has been resolved by statute, FCC regulation, court ruling, and evolving industrial practice. The working definition thus created establishes what should and should not be done in the public interest. The industry should avoid many practices which have been judged offensive; these include obscene and profane language, lotteries and gambling, defamation of character, personal feuds, false and excessive advertising. Public interest has been held to require cultural and educational programs, programs servicing minority tastes, both sides discussions of controversial issues, equal opportunities for political candidates, allocation of reasonable time for sustaining programs, reliable and informative news reports and discussion of current events.

Since the government has found it necessary to concern itself with the problems of programming as well as with technical problems, there has been considerable discussion of the philosophical and legal questions of the right and power of the government to regulate broadcasting at all. Such regulation has become fraught with controversy and pressure politics thus making the political

environment an important and sometimes decisive factor in the problems of broadcasting. Professor Smead's analysis of the politics of regulation provides the framework within which his discussions escape the academic and take on the realism and importance of questions of everyday life.

The principal value of the book, however, does not lie in the author's historical scholarship, but rather in the use which he has made of it. Two aspects of this contribute most to making the book stand out from others like it. One is that the author's long experience and thorough understanding of the area help the reader not only to further knowledge but to some very important insights concerning the workings of the federal government, its relationships to various parts of our society, and some aspects of the theoretical concepts of man, freedom and society upon which this is built. The second aspect of the value and significance of this book lies in the organization and treatment of the material. Dr. Smead is not willing to allow the reader to remain in a passive state of interest, but thrusts him into the very midst of the basic problems of freedom of action and expression, absolute vs. relative freedom, economic and political organization, public interest and morality. He does this by marshalling the arguments surrounding them into such cogent form that the reader is faced with opposing points of view each of which is so well organized and so sensible and compelling that he is forced to make his own interpretation and analysis before taking a position. This is a book of questions, not of answers.

THEODORE W. PARSONS

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Gallant Pelham. By Charles G. Milham.
Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press,
1959. Pp. 250. \$2.50.

Gallant Pelham traces the career of Major John Pelham, a Confederate officer attached to the forces of J. E. B. Stuart, a famous general under "Stonewall" Jackson. Pelham's incredible career was marked with his daring, magnetic personality and knowledge

of battle strategy. After a brief survey of his four undistinguished years as a West Pointer, the book concentrates on the less than two years he served as a Confederate officer. Before he was killed at the age of 24 in March, 1863, Major Pelham participated in some 60 battles of the Civil War as an artillery officer, and never lost a gun. His remarkable feats earned for him the admiration of his fellow soldiers who described him as "brave," "incomparable," "bold," "gal-lant," "finest leader of men."

This volume illustrates a problem many biographers face: how to examine their subjects with balance. *Gallant Pelham* is a case where the biographer fell in love with his hero. Not the slightest criticism enters this story—author Milham has total admiration for Major Pelham. "... His guns always kept the pace," "... always at the front when wanted," he "never" lost his head, the "bravest," "most noble"—indicate how only the most extreme or absolute descriptions are used.

Under the author's hands, Major Pelham becomes an inhuman figure. He seems to be completely unconscious of any fears. From walking the high ridge pole of his father's barn as a boy, to remaining in totally impossible locations with his guns in Civil War battles, Pelham's actions remind one of the incredible daring of Lindbergh in flying the Atlantic. Should these men get credit for bravery as ordinary people understand it, when Freudian psychology might say they are merely victims of a death wish?

This book is basically unsatisfying. It reads more like a chess review. Men move like pawns on a board. Battles, names, maneuvers, clutter up the pages so that humanity and emotions are squeezed out. Major Pelham himself never really lives for the reader. He is described as a dashing young figure, tall, blue eyed, physically fit, but in Milham's work he is an unbelievable hero with no emotions, doubts, or compassions.

Perhaps Major Pelham was this total man of action, whose lack of introspection enabled him to become the hero that he was. Milham himself has a narrow view of the Civil War.

Nowhere does he evoke the feeling of tragedy that is the prime significance of this holocaust. Even Pelham's death seems more like an accident or a poor joke played on the South by Federal snipers.

Although Milham exhaustively researched the archives for data and interviewed scores of relations and associates of the "gallant" Pelham, he should have included Bell Irwin Wiley's *Johnny Reb* in his sources. In Wiley's collection of letters of common soldiers, the dirt, blood, horror and agony of the Civil War come through. Milham's book needs this added dimension badly. The author and Major Pelham both emerge as "war lovers." Milham writes about cannons being "efficient" with "nicely placed rounds" and for an instant the reader forgets that this means men are being maimed and slaughtered. Milham describes one engagement:

"That long line of battle made one of the splendidly colorful pictures of the war with horses champing, restless; with drawn sabers flashing in the hands of nearly 3000 riders . . ."

Again as the Blue and the Gray face each other:

"Pelham is gay, a smile upon his lips; there is work to do!"

Later, "History's pages were made brighter," says the author about the bold Pelham. Humanity needs a history made brighter by the peace makers. The question posed by this book and John Hersey's current success *The War Lover*: What does mankind do with war lovers? Everyone knows today wars are obsolete, yet these persons are still with us.

Centennial interest in the War that saw more Americans killed than all American wars combined may carry this book along. However, it would have only limited appeal for the general public.

RAYMOND J. MCHUGH

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The Aims of Education and Other Essays.
By Alfred North Whitehead. New York:
The Macmillan Company, 1959. (first published 1929) Pp. 247. \$4.00.

Alas, how little we have profited by the wisdom of the master. "Do not teach too many subjects; what you teach, teach thoroughly." Every semester our college undergraduates "take" five or six big courses, without taking most of them seriously. "In education, as elsewhere, the broad primrose path leads to a nasty place." Ever more textbooks offer the easy, mechanical approach. "It would be a great mistake to estimate the value of each member of a faculty by the printed work signed with his name." No comment. "The management of a university faculty has no analogy to that of a business organization." *Ibid.* Much of what Whitehead, writing in 1929, feared would happen, Jacques Barzun, in a recent work, says *has* happened. Between the demands of mass education in an industrial society, and the misapplied zeal of educational Organization Men, true teaching in most American colleges and universities—in high schools as well?—has been ground down to dullness. As Whitehead observes, "the general public will only detect the difference after the university has stunted the promise of youth for scores of years."

This reprint of some essays which have inspired many teachers—whatever the obstacles to realizing their precepts—should be timely and welcome. It includes several essays on logic and science which add extra value for the money.

ROLAND N. STROMBERG

University of Maryland

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Group Methods in Supervision and Staff Development. By Arthur C. Abrahamson.
New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959. Pp. 201. \$3.75.

Consumer Economics: Principles and Problems. By Fred T. Wilhelms and Ramon P. Heimerl. Gregg Publishing Company, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960. Pp. 534. \$1.64.

Consumer Economics is a book especially appropriate for seniors who are completing a terminal education in high school. The topics presented by the authors are timely,

comprehensive, and realistic from the viewpoint of consumer education. Each unit has an introduction which provides interesting motivational material. The material in each unit not only provides basic information for future consumers, but it also strives to develop ethical consumer attitudes and appreciations of business services. The authors have managed to maintain an informality of style, which should awaken and keep interest throughout the book on the part of the students.

The units presented in the book lend themselves to committee discussion and research. There is a variety of material suitable for challenging all students with a wide range of ability. The problems and projects at the end of the chapters can be used for assigning students work in outside activities.

Considerable research has been carried on by the authors to bring their facts up-to-date. The vocabulary used is within reading and communicative experience of high school students. In my opinion, business terminology in many books is not within the experience of the average secondary student, but the authors in this text have provided for this handicap by having "Expand Your Vocabulary" projects at the end of each chapter.

Interesting visual aids in the form of current pictorial material, graphs, and statistical charts strengthen the educative value of the reading material. The print is easy to read, and the mechanical details of the book have been produced so as to withstand the torturous handling of our active teenagers.

In the introduction to the text, Thomas H. Briggs, Director, Consumer Education Study, states that "The Consumer Education Book should make young people more intelligent, more efficient, and more conscientious consumers." I feel that "Consumer Economics" by Fred T. Wilhelms and Ramon P. Heimerl, has done a fine job in meeting Dr. Briggs' standards.

ISADORE ABRAMS

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HELPFUL CLASSROOM AIDS

PAMPHLETS

The Economics of American Living. By Harry W. Heckman. Rand McNally Company, New York. \$1.65.

Readings from Economic Geography. Edited by Richard J. Ward and Lawrence A. Hoffman. Henry Holt and Company, 383 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N. Y. \$1.50.

Workbook for Consumer Economics. By Fred T. Wilhelms and Ramon P. Heimerl. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York. \$1.50.

Free and Inexpensive Learning Materials. 10th Edition. George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee. \$1.50.

Social Studies in the Elementary School Program. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington 25, D. C. Copies free.

Mastering World History. By Philip L. Groisser. Keystone Education Press, 71 Fifth Avenue, New York 3, N. Y. Paper back. \$1.25.

Service-Center for Teachers of History. A Service of the American Historical Association.

Three years ago the Service-Center for Teachers of History was established by the American Historical Association in an effort to help classroom teachers keep up to date in their fields of interest.

One of the programs being sponsored by the Service-Center is the preparation of a series of pamphlets, each containing a concise summary of publications reflecting recent research and new interpretations in a particular field of history. Twenty-six pamphlets have been published and additional pamphlets will follow during each month of the school year.

We believe that this series can be useful to teachers in any secondary school and that every school should have a set of the pamphlets. The American Historical Association is distributing the pamphlets at cost as a contribution to the teaching of history in schools.

You may write to the American Historical Association, 400 A. Street, S.E. Washington 3, D. C., for a list of the pamphlets and prices.

ARTICLES

- "The Gifted and Talented." By Louis A. Fliegler and Charles E. Bish, *Review of Educational Research*, December, 1959.
- "New Tides in Latin America." *World Week*, April 13, 1960.
- "Philadelphia's Blind Students Get More Than an Education by Braille." By Michael J. Goll. *News Letter*, Philadelphia Teachers Association, 1522 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, Pa., May, 1960.
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CORRECTION. In the March, 1960, issue, the price of *This Is Communism*, published by Oxford Book Co. was wrongly given as \$3.75. The correct price should have been \$1.00.

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